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Karpov Views European Disarmament Moves

LD3108133190 Warsaw PAP in English 0956 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister [title as received] Viktor Karpov, who also is the chief Soviet disarmament expert, had this to say about disarmament in an interview for PAP during his visit in Warsaw.

"I would say that the tasks of theoretical disarmament have finally become a practical need. I would like to stress the word 'need.' Objective conditions have also surfaced to implement this practical need through practical decisions.

"If all goes well, the next step will be the Vienna decisions on reducing armed forces in Europe which will cover tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery, choppers and the airforce, in other words the key means of conducting war which can pose a threat to the security of other states. At issue will be not only reductions but monitored reductions which will in fact create a new situation in Europe. A situation of greater confidence in combination with the confidence building measures which we are proposing currently within the framework of the meeting of 35 states. These undertakings will include exchange of information, limitation of military exercises, limitation of military operations and the establishment of an European centre which could gather all the information about the armed forces in Europe, about military maneuvers, plans of maneuvers and plans of expanding armies and at the same time would inspect, verify whether the sides are really fulfilling the agreements they had signed.

"We are currently advancing to practical action. My task is precisely to travel to all capitals of the Warsaw Treaty to take a look at extra possibilities, what we can do with other members of the alliance to solve problems of European security.

"It seems to us that it is very important to make use of new trends which have surfaced between the two alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. How did we perceive these relations in the past? Confrontation—two military blocs. One armed itself against the other and the more NATO armed itself, the more the Warsaw Treaty armed itself, and the other way around. At present there may be a possibility of acting differently: to lay the cards on the table and say: Let us see what is happening. Let us show ourselves data on how many troops we have. Do your formations pose a threat to our security and do ours threaten your security. If so, then we should agree on how to remove the danger. In other words to transform the structure of the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in such a way to permit them to wage defensive operations and exclude the possibility of big offensive ones. I consider this as paramount. If we reach agreement on this matter than the whole setting of further disarmament talks will be one of eliminating offensive potentials. If we go along this road then I think that peace will be secured for Europe for long years to come.

"A new factor is surfacing nowadays: the unification of Germany. That is a very strong state emerging in central Europe which will practically be uncontested in the economic field in Europe. One must understand this. But there are indeed institutions of economic integration of Europe, there are integration blueprints, as goes for example the proposed creation of common legal space, common economic space, common human rights. We should take all of this into account because currently we see that the isolation which we, the Soviet Union, imposed on ourselves in relation to Europe, and with our help the countries of East Europe were also isolated, does not work in all respects. Integration is necessary within the framework of European progress. (...) all of this must be implemented. Just how is what we are presently pondering, guessing, and scratching our heads looking for ideas on how to organize this in our country. With difficulties, but we are trying to move foreward.

"As goes for military blocs, I can say that they will exist as long as the blocs themselves do not come to terms on their disbanding. We think that in the current situation military blocs, even if they are not total anachronisms, are becoming out-dated. We favour gradually transforming the blocs, turning them from strictly military alliances into military-political ones, into organizations of more political nature. And subsequently their gradual watering down in an European security system.

"Regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Europe, we are holding talks with the FRG and the GDR geared at withdrawing Soviet troops stationed in the GDR within more or less four years. The issue of the withdrawal of American, British, Belgian and Dutch troops stationed in the FRG is somewhat unclear," the Soviet vice minister said.

Chernyshev Views Vienna Arms Cuts Proposals

LD3108151790 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Participants in the just resumed Vienna talks on conventional arms in Europe face a complex but extremely important task—to ensure the completion of a draft first treaty in time for the European summit in Paris in November.

From this point of view, the plenary meeting on August 30 appears promising. Representatives of the two blocs made new proposals, which, it seems, are capable of removing some of the stumbling blocks on the way to an agreement.

NATO countries proposed including in the treaty under preparation a provision envisaging subsequent talks on cutting troops of the Vienna forum member-countries.

The North Atlanic Treaty Organisation announced its decision not to increase the present number of troops and called on the Warsaw Pact to follow suit.

Taking into account these proposals and the new situation in Europe, the Soviet Union has rescinded its earlier proposal to establish a collective level of troops at 700,000-750,000 men for each alliance in central Europe.

Such reciprocal steps at the negotiations will move the solution of the issue relating to troop reductions to the next stage, and thus save time at the present stage of the negotiations.

All grounds for concern, however, have not been removed. unfortunately, developments in Europe run far ahead of the Vienna talks. With German unification, a united Germany's membership of NATO and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from central Europe, the military political situation in the region is changing dramatically. The regional sublevels for arms under reduction discussed earlier are already outdated. If viewed in the light of the actually emerging situation in Europe, the previous accords leave 8,000 tanks in the west while hardly more than 4,000 will remain in the east.

Taking into account the change in the situation, the Soviet Union has proposed to bring down the upper plank of collective weapons for each group of countries in central Europe to the level East European countries will actually have. This would mean between 4,000 and 4,500 tanks, up to 6,000 armoured vehicles and 3,500 artillery systems.

According to the new Soviet proposals, these reductions could be synchronized with the Soviet withdrawal from East German territory.

In the emerging new situation, an increasingly important role belongs to the rule of arms sufficiency. This conclusion ensues from principles of political realism which take account of the actual correlation of forces.

Correction of the accords already achieved with due account taken of the changes in the military-political situation on the continent will surely take some time. People in the Soviet Union hope that Western negotiators will give a prompt constructive response to the new proposals from the East.

TASS Covers Shevardnadze at Asian Conference

Arrives in Vladivostok 3 Sep

LD0309080890 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Vladivostok September 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, now touring the Asia-Pacific region, today arrived in Vladivostok from Pyongyang after completing his visit to North Korea.

He will attend the second international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" to open here on Tuesday. The conference will be also attended by over 70 Soviet and foreign scientists and specialists in problems of the region.

On September 4, Shevardnadze is expected to address the conference with a report devoted to Soviet foreign policy in the region.

Makes Opening Remarks

LD0409041990 Moscow TASS in English 0414 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Vladivostok September 4 TASS—The Soviet Union is living through a very important moment in its history as the events and trends of the past two years have put perestroyka and, consequently, the future of the Soviet Union at stake, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said here today.

In his opening remarks at an international conference on the Asia-Pacific region, he said that economic recovery on the basis of market relations, the building of a new foundation for ethnic arrangements and state structures, and efforts to strengthen the democratic system of running the country have run into enormous difficulties.

Shevardnadze especially pointed to contradictory processes connected with the desire of different ethnic groups for independence, on the one hand, and the need to ensure their real sovereignty by broadening and diversifying their integration-oriented links within a new Soviet Union, on the other.

These "alarming" processes, Shevardnadze said, will be halted by life itself, which is sometimes stern and ruthless. After finding themselves one-on-one with the countless problems of life support, people will begin to look for, and are certain to find, the rescue in a union, he said.

Should perestroyka slow down or be folded up, Shevarnadze warned, "This will inevitably generate destructive tendencies to the detriment of international stability."

Calls for Asian-Pacific Forum

LD0409053490 Moscow TASS in English 0450 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[TExt] Vladivostok September 4 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today called for an early Asian-Pacific forum to discuss pressing problems of the region.

In his opening remarks at the second international conference on "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation", he said that international interest in holding such a forum is growing. The idea of a foreign ministers' meeting towards this goal is catching on: It has been supported by Canada and Australia, he said.

A forum of Asian-Pacific countries, including their official representatives, is not only possible, it is increasingly essential, Shevardnadze said.

He proposed moving it to step by step so that "parallel with increasing efforts to resolve conflicts, lower confrontation and remove frictions and simultaneously with steppng up bilateral contacts, to proceed to launching multilateral negotiating machinery".

The process can be started, in Shevardnadze's opinion, by a conference of countries with the largest military potentials. It could have the form of "A working meeting of foreign ministers, which will be open to observers from any other countries".

The Soviet Union, he added, would be prepared to conduct requisite consultations in order to prepare such a meeting and ensure agreement on its participants and agenda.

Shevardnadze called for a meeting of foreign minsters from all Asian states in Vladivostok in the Autumn of 1993. This, he said, could be an open meeting, the details of which could be discussed at the upcoming United Nations General Assembly session.

Urges Peaceful Solution in Gulf

LD0409052590 Moscow TASS in English 0431 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Vladivostok September 4 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministger Eduard Shevardnadze described the situation in the Gulf region as "extraordinary and extremely dangerous."

Addressing the second international conference "The Asia-Pacific region—Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" that opened here today, Shevardnadze said the crisis even demanded that an emergency Soviet-U.S. summit be held in the capital of Finland on September 9. Shevardnadze said he was sure that the summit will be an important landmark on the way to a settlement.

It is inconceivable that a variant is possible when Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and lawful government would not be restored, the minister said. He noted that priority in resolving the crisis "should not, of course, belong to military measures."

Recent Soviet-Chinese talks in Harbin and Soviet-North Korean talks in Pyongyang on Monday indicated that this approach is supported by the absolute majority of states, Shevardnadze said.

At the same time, Shevardnadze noted emphasis on that peaceful solutions does not mean that nothing threatens the invader. "We are sure that sanctions will work and force the Iraqi leadership to heed to the voice of reason," he said.

Shevardnadze noted the need to "expedite the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East and not delay a comprehensive settlement under the aegis of the United Nations." Israel's agreement to attend such a conference could positively affect the situation in the Middle East and a Gulf settlement, he said.

The Soviet Union, for its part, would not leave such a move by Israel without a response and could reconsider Soviet-Israeli relations, Shevardnadze said.

Talks With Diplomatic Observers

LD0409080290 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Vladivostok September 4 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who attended the international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation," today met diplomatic observers present at the conference.

They discussed the future of the region. The minister noted the need to use the vast potential of cooperation and dwelt upon some new ideas voiced in his speech.

The meeting was attended by the ambassadors of Sri Lanka—Rodney Clement Austin Vandergert, New Zealand—John George McArthur, Laos—Khamphong Phanvongsa, Pakistan—Abdus Sattar and the Philippines—Juan V. Saez, and representatives from embassies of Indonesia, India, Japan, Australia, the United States and Laos and the South Korean consular department in Moscow.

Moscow Radio Previews Shevardnadze's Asian Tour

LD3109155190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Point of View" program hosted by Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] [Levin] Hello, dear comrades. It is well known that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, is going on a trip to the Far East. On 1 September he will have talks with his Chinese colleague in Harbin, on 3 and 4 a visit to the capital of the DPRK is planned, and then, after speaking in Vladivostok at an international meeting on problems of the Asian-Pacific region, Shevardnadze will set off for Japan. Today I would like to speak briefly about the states which the foreign minister is to visit, and to acquaint you with some little known facts. [passage omitted on growing importance of the Asian-Pacific region]

Let's start with China. Gratifying changes have taken place of late which mean one can conclude that last year's visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, USSR president, to the PRC, the talks he had there, and the accords reached are producing quite tangible fruits. But at the same time, of course, understanding all the possible significance and the potential opportunities for development of Soviet-Chinese relations, one might have expected considerably more, as well. Nikolay Vladimirovich—I am addressing Nikolay Vladimrovich Shishlin, who is with me—do we have grounds for optimism in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations?

[Shishlin] I think that is so, of course, since I agree absolutely with the thought that the opportunities for deepening, enriching, and expanding Soviet-Chinese ties in all respects, in all areas, are in essence simply unbounded. And, let us say, in the economic sphere, as well. I consider that both our country and our neighbor could gain tremendous benefit from enrichment of Soviet-Chinese economic ties and the formation of joint enterprises. But for all the growth in volume of Soviet-Chinese trade and Soviet-Chinese economic ties, I think that, of course, they look quite modest on (?a world) scale.

Well, what do I mean? In general, the figures of 3 or 4 billion mean nothing for Titans such as the Soviet Union and China. What is the matter here? I think it concerns two things—what we have inherited, and which by the way our president's visit helps to overcome, and also the fact that, of course, our economy. Our own economy first and foremost—is not very responsive to the transition to such a solid economic foundation, to solid economic interest. And I think that the steps which are being taken in search of the outline for a radical economic reform will of course open up completely new horizons in the development of Soviet-Chinese economic ties.

As far as the political sphere is concerned, I think that it is in the political sphere that the visit to China by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has played its role, although you know that the development following this, which was expected to be rapid, turned out to be rather slow, this was connected with the very dramatic domestic events in China, with the bloody tragedy which occurred on Tiananmen Square, when the student movement was smashed by force. You remember very well for yourself, of course, that we did not, naturally, interfere in China's internal affairs, although of course we had our own opinion on the character of those events. But it is not for us to lecture China on how to behave. But one way or another, we can say that political ties are now not simply unfrozen, they are still developing and being enriched step by step, and in this context, it seems to me that the future is very promising.

[Levin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, you mentioned the recent, last year's sad events in China's political life. But how in your view is the domestic political situation shaping up in this great country?

[Shishlin] Well, from outside, the political situation in China seems fairly even, fairly even. And it must be said that the Chinese leadership does not tire of emphasizing that the line of reform will be strictly implemented. This is indeed so. At any rate, there are noticeable elements of a certain stabilization in the Chinese economy. As far as China's internal political life is concerned, as far as one can see from Moscow, far from all the tensions there have been reduced, and far from all the problems have been overcome. The Chinese comrades consider it necessary to resort to the tried and tested methods, calling for stepping up of ideological work, for strengthening of the struggle against all kinds of alien influences, but I reckon that, putting it very crudely, the Chinese comrdes have gone far further than we have as far as economic reform is concerned, and it must be said that in themselves, the Chinese economic reforms have meant moves of a different order, and have probably been more successful than in our country, since they started with agriculture and light industry, with saturating the market with consumer goods. As far as political reform is concerned, here I think that the processes which are developing in our country are considerably ahead of today's political situation in China, although of course the Chinese comrades have their own evaluation, their own reckoning, their own opinions about what we, Soviet people, could do, and how.

So the picture is not an even one, even in this comparison, but one thing is indisputable, that it is extremely important for us to really increase cooperation with China, and not just talk about the need to study the Chinese experience, get to grips with the Chinese experience, but to really assimilate the Chinese experience, because there is a very great deal that is instructive, a very great deal that is useful in China. [passage omitted]

[Levin] Now it is the turn of the DPRK. I have asked our correspondent in Pyongyang, Konstantin Belov, to participate in our program. I put my first question to him thus: How do you explain the fact that the Soviet mass media, in my view, do not pay much attention to the DPRK? Is this a consequence of the calmness of life there, or a lack of sources of information for the Soviet journalists accredited there?

[Belov] First of all, may I disagree withthe assertion that the Soviet mass media say nothing. Suffice it to compare the quantity and nature of material on the DPRK two years ago and now. You have noticed that the authors of this material are mainly journalists on short working visits to the country. As for Soviet journalists regularly accredited in Pyongyang, their opportunities are circumscribed by the need and the dynamic desire to continue their work here. To speak about the sources of information, they are little different from those available to any citizen of the DPRK. That is, half a dozen central newspapers, three DPRK television channels, and Pyongyang radio. All the Soviet correspondents' offices are situated in the quarter of the capital where the embassies and other foreign missions are located. I have still not quite got to the bottom of it, but the airwaves in this area are very polluted. Of all the foreign radio stations, it is only the broadcasts of the Radio Moscow World Service in Russian that I can get more or less regularly. Trips around the country, visits to establishments and enterprises, and meetings and conversations both with officials and with ordinary citizens in order to gather news material take place with the mandatory mediation and presence of staff from the information department of the DPRK Foreign Ministry. I do not think the situation is unique. There are plenty of countries with such conditions for the work of foreign correspondents. And we could ourselves remember our recent past easily. [passage omitted]

[Levin] May I remind you once again that between 5 and 7 September, talks will take place between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and his Japanese colleague. Such talks are held annually, but judging by all, this year they will be of a somewhat unusual, nonroutine character. What is the main difference of this year's talks? I am putting this question to our political observer Vladimir Tsvetov.

[Tsvetov] Well, of course, there is a difference compared to the previous talks, because they will now be working in Tokyo in a specific way on issues connected with the visit to Japan by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. As I imagine it, the texts of future treaties will be agreed in Tokyo, for example, on the formation of joint enterprises, on the institution of a Tokyo branch of the Soviet bank, on construction in Japan of a Soviet cultural center, and an agreement on doing joint scientific research. Apart from this, issues connected with the situation, primarily the military-political situation, in the Asian-Pacific region will of course be discussed.

[Levin] One must suppose that the visit will be a major event not only in Soviet-Japanese relations. You have mentioned the Asian-Pacific region, and the visit should bring new points to bear in the approach to resolving the problems of the region.

[Tsvetov] Of course. Since the present Soviet political leadership has resolutely abandoned international tourism in its work, one should expect the Soviet side to put forward new and important initiatives with the aim of creating an atmosphere of peace, trust, and mutually beneficial cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. [passage omitted on recalling Gorbachev meeting with

Gandhi in May 1985, suggestion for Helsinki-style Asian conference; 1986 Vladivostok speech; 1988 Krasnoyarsk speech]

In April this year, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy USSR foreign minister, visiting Tokyo, said specifically on what issues an all-Asian dialogue could be started. As he said, this is a reduction in military confrontation, which still occurs in Southeast Asia, prevention of proliferation of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, limitation of naval activities, and reduction of conventional armed forces and weapons. Petrovskiy put forward a very interesting and probably—from the point of view of the countries of the Asian-Pacific region—debatable idea, of including the European and Asian processes into an integrated Eurasian process of achieving security—one would hardly expect objections there—but he went on to say that the Soviet Union, as a nuclear power, might play the role of a bridge to bring cooperation in this Eurasian process. This idea might bring forth varied assessments and opinions in Southeast Asia, first and foremost. But whatever the case, one must expect that new Soviet initiatives will go along this political channel which has now been being laid for five years.

[Levin] Well, it is known that while the attitude to the idea of achieving security in the region in general favorable, the proposals themselves have met with a fairly cool response in the countries of the Asian-Pacific region.

[Tsvetov] There is nothing terrible in that. The Soviet Union, as is well known, is by no means insisting that it should be its own proposals that are adopted, in precisely the form that it puts them forward. The Soviet Union is calling, for now, for talks to be begun, and it is in order that they should not start from scratch that it has put all these proposals forward.

[Levin] Since we are talking first and foremost about Soviet-Japanese relations, let us dwell on Japan's objections.

[Tsvetov] Japan's position is this: it is mistaken, it considers, to carry the European process of disarmament and arms control over to the Asian-Pacific region. Second, Japan sees a Soviet aspiration to make the development of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region depend on its own military balance with the United States. If there is a certain raw truth in the first objection, in my view, then the second is dictated by purely one-sided Japanese foreign policy ambitions. Indeed, the degrees of division in the Asian-Pacific region are much greater than in Europe. The countries there are divided not only politically, along the East-West axis, but also economically, along the North-South axis. Confrontation between individual countries is very strong in the region on political, economic, territorial and ethnic grounds. there are no organizations like NATO and the Warsaw Pact there which would to some degree unite the countries of the region and bring a multilateral confrontation down to a bilateral one, which, as European practice has shown, is more susceptible to settlement.

Nevertheless, the European process may be of use to the Asian-Pacific region, if not as an example to be followed, then at least as a methodology. I believe that in the process of developing new initiatives for Gorbachev's visit to Japan, the difference between the situation in Europe and that in the Asian-Pacific region will surely be taken into account.

[Levin] Vladimir Yakovlevich, you spoke of two of Japan's objections, but so far you have only named one objection.

[Tsvetov] The second objection is prompted by the idea that allegedly the Soviet Union and the United States intend to make the affairs of the region depend on the military balance between them. I believe that what is behind this objection is Japan's wish to have a balanced say of its own in the Asian-Pacific region. The meaning of this is as follows: The Soviet Union and the United States, and the general relaxation of international tension make the Japanese—U.S. treaty on security redundant. For 30 years Japan was under the U.S. nuclear and general military umbrella. This made it possible for it not to be concerned about its own military security.

Now there is serious talk in the United States and Japan alike of the possibility of liquidating this treaty. If this happens, there are quite a few politicians in Japan who reckon that it will be necessary for Japan to become a powerful military power. There are several reason for this here, in the view of these politicians. First, the level of trust between countries has not yet reached a point when it will become possible not to contemplate having a strong army of one's own. Second, Japan is convinced that the country will begin to play a prominent international role only if its economic might is supplemented by a commensurate military might, on a part with its economic might. Finally, there are some people in Japan who even believe that the Japanese - U.S. trade and economic contradictions may, at some point in the future, even if it is very far into the future, lead to a confrontation which will be expressed not merely in a demonstative smashing of Japanese radio and television receivers with sledgehammers in front of U.S. television cameras.

[Levin] What we term the territorial problem and what is termed in Japan the problem of the Northern Territories is, as is known—at least this is what the Japanese side is claiming, very categorically so—a major obstacle to the start of any sort of dialogue in the Asian-Pacific region and generally for relations between the Soviet Union and Japan and the development of these relations. May it not be the case that differences of positions on this problem may jeopardize both detente in the Asian-Pacific region and even Gorbachev's visit to Japan, if you take into account the fact that up until recently it was thought in Japan that the visit is pointless without the resolution of this problem?

[Tsvetov] Well, a threat of this sort does, of course, exist. I have in mind detente in the Asian-pacific region; that is, the threat to detente in the Asian-Pacific region and the threat to the fate of the visit itself of Gorbachev to Japan. I felt this threat keenly when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev during his meeting with Yoshio Sakurauchi, speaker of the House of representatives of the Japanese parliament, stated in a fairly irritated manner—well, I am judging this by TASS information—that the question of whether it is advisable for him to go to Japan is beginning to arise if the agenda of the visit contains only one question, the territorial issue.

However, it does seem that common sense has prevailed in the conduct of the two sides. The Soviet side made conciliatory statements later, while Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister (Hisia Siawada) hastened to stress that, important though the territorial problem is, one should not think that other questions require no discussion. Incidentally, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu spoke after Siawada in the same spirit.

It is my view, completely personal, that the Soviet Union and Japan ought to leave old stereotypes behind during the examination of the territorial problem, and that they ought to do this together and simultaneously. Too much is at stake: the fate of detente, the fate of disarmament, the fate of mutually advantageous cooperation in what is the world's most dynamic and also most explosive region, if you leave the Near East out of the picture. The fate of Soviet - Japanese relations is at state. Their importance for the situation in the world is exceptionally great. It is very difficult ot overestimate the importance of these relations for us.

TASS Reports on Gerasimov's 3 Sep Briefing

Upcoming Helsinki Meeting

LD0309124190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1149 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow 3 Sep (TASS)—The concept of ad hoc, confidential contacts at the highest level thoroughly matches the new spirit of Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which is based on the renunciation of cold war stereotypes and a switch to cooperation on the broadest range of problems." This is how Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, evaluated the scheduled working meeting in Helsinki on 9 September between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush. He was speaking today at a briefing.

Stressing that the initiative for this "one-day contact came from the Americans," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman nevertheless said that "the very idea of holding such informal meetings, without a prepared agenda and whenever they are needed, was agreed between the top leaders of the USSR and the United States during their talks at Camp David in the United States in June this year." "Both Presidents consider," he went on, "that these personal meetings are a unique opportunity to compare assessments of accelerating events and to achieve a better understanding of each other's fundamental premises and therefore to promote constructive tendencies in international development and to neutralize negative ones."

According to Gennadiy Gerasimov, the discussions in Helsinki will touch on various aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation. "Of course," he added, "crisis situations, including the situation in the Persian Gulf, will not be ignored either."

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Helsinki will be their fourth. Asked by journalists about the expected make-up of the delegations, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the meeting would be "a one-day working meeting with a very restricted participation."

U.S. Experts' Visit 'Useful'

LD0309134390 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov today described a recent visit by U.S. chemical weapons experts to the Soviet Union as "useful from the standpoint of both sides accumulating practical experience in preparation to fulfil agreements on chemical disarmament".

The week-long visit, which ended last Thursday, took place in line with a Soviet-U.S. memorandum of understanding on a bilateral experiment on verification and data exchanges in view of the planned prohibition of chemical warfare agents.

The U.S. delegation visited several Soviet military and civilian chemical facilities, including a chemical weapons storage site at Kambarka and mothballed chemical weapons production facilities and operating plants producing dual-purpose chemicals in the city of Dzerzhinsk.

The trip completed the second round of visit exchanges, during which a group of Soviet experts toured several chemical facilities in the United States late in July, 1990.

The third, and final, round of such visits is scheduled for early next year, Gerasimov said.

The visits, he said, involved detailed discussions on verification arrangements and inspections within the framework of the projected ban on chemical weapons and a Soviet-U.S. agreement to destroy and not produce such weapons, which was signed in Washington last June.

Cites Article on Joint Role

LD0309182690 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 3 Sep 90

[by TASS correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishev]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Moscow analysts of international affairs believe that President Mikhail Gorbachev and President George Bush will concentrate on a settlement of the Gulf crisis during their forthcoming meeting in Helsinki, it was noted at today's briefing held at the press centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Political analysts believe that this working meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers confirms that Soviet-American relations are becoming more concrete and businesslike.

Special attention is being given to a recently published article by Paul Nitze in the WASHINGTON POST newspaper, dealing with Soviet-American relations.

Nitze says that stormy events in the world put the task before the Soviet Union and the United States to become the main guarantors of a gradual and non-violent transition to the new political era that is replacing the cold war period.

This task can be resolved only by strengthening confidence and developing political interaction between the USSR and the United States.

Soviet spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov who held the briefing noted that this "reasoning is interesting and deserves attention."

Announces UK Secretary's Visit

LD0309134890 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union from September 13-14, following "two plus four" talks in Moscow, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov announced at a briefing here today.

Hurd is scheduled to confer with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze on September 14. "The talks are expected to focus on the future of Europe, in light of German reunification, the Gulf crisis, and prospects for Soviet-British cooperation," Gerasimov said.

Hurd will spend September 13 meeting officials from various Soviet ministries and organisations and touring Moscow and the region, the spokesman said.

He expressed the conviction that the visit "will further political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Britain and help broaden bilateral cooperation on pressing international problems."

Minister Deryabin Views CSCE Prospects

PM3108150890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 35, 27 Aug-3 Sep 90 pp 10-11

[Interview with Yuriy Deryabin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Department for Security and Cooperation in Europe, by Anatoliy Kovrigin; place and date not given: "A New Milestone in the Helsinki Process"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] What can we expect of a European summit in Paris next November? Our correspondent talks with Yuriy Deryabin, head of the Foreign Ministry's department for security and cooperation in Europe.

NEW TIMES [N.T.]: What new can be expected at a European summit in Paris next November as compared with the Helsinki conference of 1975?

Yuriy Deryabin: Europe has changed over the past 15 years, especially in the last few years. It is necessary to analyze the changes, define measures for overcoming the division of the continent and ways of bringing about a European community of the 21st century. We come to see again and again that a special role in this respect is played by the Helsinki process as the main instrument for establishing cooperation and maintaining stability in Europe.

This role of the Helsinki process has been universally recognized. It took almost ten years to realize the idea of convening a European conference, which was first advanced at the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in 1966. As regards the proposal for holding a new European summit, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev less than a year ago, a general agreement on the idea was reached within several months. I want to stress that the new situation in Europe will be discussed by new leaders of the countries which took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and this is very important.

N.T.: The first meeting of the preparatory committee for the Paris summit has just ended in Vienna, and you led the Soviet delegation at this meeting. The committee has a tight schedule of work. Preparations for the Helsinki conference took eight months in Dipoli and almost two years in Geneva, whereas your committee has several weeks. It is necessary to reach a consensus not only on the draft agenda of the summit but also on its final political document. What is the atmosphere at the "Vienna kitchen" where the "Paris lunch" is being cooked?

Y.D.: Like Paris, Vienna is a suitable place for cooking meals that will be palatable not only to politicians but also, and this is important, to millions of Europeans and Americans and, I'm sure, to people the world over. The results of the Vienna talks in 1986-89 became a major event after the Helsinki conference. The negotiators in Vienna are now working out an unprecedented treaty on conventional armaments in Europe. During three weeks of its work the first meeting of the preparatory committee drew up the agenda of the summit and the range of subjects to be included in its final document, and reached a general agreement on the future institutions and structures of the CSCE.

A meeting of foreign ministers of the CSCE countries, to be held in New York on September 1 and 2, will be an important stage in preparations for the Paris summit. It will be the first European measure on American soil.

N.T.: If the Helsinki potential is far from having been exhausted and the principles formulated by the Helsinki conference still operate in full volume, what will the Paris summit discuss concretely and what can we expect of it?

Y.D.: The summit will mainly work out general approaches to a qualitatively new stage in which our continent is entering, leaving behind the cold war and going over to genuine partnership on the basis of supremacy of universal values and the balance of interests.

One of the priority questions is a further reduction of the military confrontation in Europe. A major event in this respect is to be the signing of agreements on conventional armed forces and on further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, which has already been called Vienna-1. The summit will also have to map out the stages of progress in this direction.

The transformation of military-political alliances, the establishment of cooperation between them and, it can be said, their mutual adaptation in new conditions represent an important stage of the European process. This idea can materialize soon. The member countries of the Warsar Treaty and NATO are expected to adopt a joint declaration which will impart a new quality to relations between them.

The Paris summit will of course discuss external aspects of German reunification on which an active search of agreements under the 2+4 formula is now being conducted. We can talk about a real breakthrough made possible as a result of the Gorbachev-Kohl talks in Moscow and Stavropol.

Another question to be discussed is how to make the European process more dynamic in all its three "baskets". For instance, it is necessary to consolidate the innovative approaches which had become apparent at the Bonn conference on economic cooperation and at the Copenhagen conference on human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

We attach special importance to the question of giving concrete forms to the European process and shaping future European structures of security.

N.T.: Could you elaborate on this question?

Y.D.: The idea of giving concrete forms to the CSCE, first received by some of our partners with scepticism and even caution, is gaining ground little by little, and in this lies one of the important results of the first meeting of the preparatory committee in Vienna. There is already general understanding of the need for regular summits. To a certain extent, it will be consolidation of the existing practice. The next summit is to be held in Helsinki in 1992.

A consensus is being reached on regular meetings of foreign ministers and the mechanism of political consultations at the level of ambassadors and special envoys, and on the need of setting up a small permanent secretariat of the CSCE. Among new structures of European security likely to appear is the CSCE centre which would combine the powers of a military-political body with control and inspection functions and of a body for averting and settling political conflicts.

Of course, only initial, though necessary, measures are on the agenda. It is in fact a question of going over in the near future to qualitatively new non-block structures of security and cooperation in Europe. The preparatory committee has brought a new term into use, namely, "cooperative security", that is, security based on cooperation. In the light of the experience of the 1930s, the notion of "collective security" causes an allergy.

[Text] N.T.: It is known that Albanian diplomats arrived in Vienna. The CSCE process is a new thing for them, because Albania did not take part in the Helsinki conference. Tirana had asked for an observer status, having in mind the Paris summit too. Did the "course of studies" come off well?

Y.D.: I think it came off well. In the conference hall tables are set in the form of a square. The table for the Albanian delegation was placed in one of the corners. It was like a desk for pupils. All of us have gone through a course of training at the "European university". Our Albanian partners will also have to do the same. Their presence at the Hofburg Palace is a serious step towards joining the all-European dialogue. We welcome this move and are ready to give every assistance in this respect.

N.T.: The Baltic republics also seek to join the CSCE. At the Copenhagen meeting they raised the question of giving them the status of observers. Did they raise the same question in Vienna?

Y.D.: We welcome the Baltic republics' desire to take an active part in the CSCE process. Their interests lie in Europe first of all. However, we proceed from the existing legal realities. Only "sovereign and independent states" participate in the CSCE, whereas the status of the Baltic and other constituent republics is determined by the Constitution of the USSR and appropriate laws of the USSR.

In acordance with the law On Differentiation of Powers Between the USSR and the Subjects of the Federation, adopted on April 26, 1990, "the shaping of the foreign policy of the USSR in international relations" is the exclusive affair of the Union. I am sure that the Baltic republics' special interests concerning the CSCE process can be taken into account and realized by the Soviet delegation.

N.T.: The Vienna meeting held in January 1989 adopted a final document which urges the member states to bring their legislation and practice in conformity with the CSCE agreements. Are we prepared to adopt the "European standards"? What is necessary for this purpose? How long will this process last?

Y.D.: We have no other alternative if we want to build a law-governed state, ensure legal and social protection for the individual, improve our economy, and gain full access to the European and world civilization. The adoption of "European standards" and, in a broader sense, the recognition of the priority of interests and values common to all mankind are a major prerequisite of the success of our perestroyka. It is not simply a matter of "conformity" but confirmation of the primacy of international law and standards. No society can be fully civilized and law-based without recognizing international law and standards and putting them into effect.

Of course, it is not a simple process for us. The Soviet parliament has already passed or is considering new laws conforming with European standards. Among them are laws on the press, public associations, and freedom of conscience. It should be noted, however, that it is in our interests to speed up the law-making process. It is not a matter of pleasing the West, as some allege. We lose much, both morally and materially, by being slow in bringing our laws in conformity with international commitments.

Let us take the law on emigration. The adoption of this law has been put off until autumn when the Supreme Soviet meets again. It is often said there is no need for haste, because here are more important laws on the agenda. Some even claim that "the law on emigration" is not needed at all, because the state will have to pay large sums in currency to those who leave the country, and that it will lead to brain drain.

It is not a matter of the law. The main thing is to provide economic, social and legal conditions that will keep he "brains" at home. The Soviet Union has lost much being unable to expand trade and economic cooperation with the United States because of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. A trade agreement was concluded during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States. However, the Americans say that it will come into force only after the adoption of the law on emigration.

N.T.: Some people ask in this connection whether Soviet diplomacy is impelling our country to make ever new concessions to the West.

Y.D.: The question is what we understand by concessions. The specific feature of the Helsinki process lies in the ability to find a balance of interests of all participating states. Sometimes it is a fragile balance nevertheless, a balance of interests, not of national or other ambitions and claims.

This also concerns the military sphere. It would be a good idea to calculate what colossal manpower and material resources we shall able to release for our national economy. Or let's take human rights. The Copenhagen meetings recorded important provisions on the primacy of the law and on pluralistic democracy. In many respects it is a key to the transformation of our society. We can also take cooperation in the economic and ecological spheres. The Bonn conference adopted a document which stresses the importance of the market economy. This is directly connected with the processes taking place in our country and opens up new opportunities for economic cooperation.

All these examples show that the Helsinki process pays as does Soviet foreign policy.

Gorbachev Sends Message to UN Meeting in Paris

LD0309162890 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message of greetings to participants in the second U.N. conference on the least developed countries, due to open in Paris today.

Gorbachev points out that in order for the modern civilised world order to assert itself, underdevelopment and the rift between North and South must be overcome. This goal is linked with "other global goals: disarmament, the elimination of debts and environmental protection."

He stresses that the Soviet Union favours multiplying efforts to stabilise the world economy on the basis of constructive interaction between East and West and South, by fostering equal conditions for the development of everyone and taking account of special needs of the least developed nations.

"In this context we pin great hopes on the results of the nascent process of disarmament and conversion," Gorbachev stresses, "that it would not limit itself only to NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries. Unfortunately, actions, like those that have led to the dangerous crisis in the Gulf seriously undermine efforts to normalise world economic relations and support countries, the fate of which is the subject of your conference."

Falin Meets Socialist International Delegation

LD3108223890 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—A delegation from the Socialist International's consultative council for disarmament, led by Socialist International Secretary-General Luis Ayala, visited Moscow from August 30-31 at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Delegation members included leading specialists of socialist and social democratic parties of Europe, Asia and Latin America.

The Soviet side was represented at the meetings with the delegation by experts from the Soviet foreign and defence ministries and some scientific institutions.

Luis Ayala and other delegation members had a circumstantial conversation with Valentin Falin, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Discussion focused on arms control issues and current disarmament negotiations, the creation of a new security system, the reorientation of resources and expanding control procedures to naval forces.

These issues will be on the agenda of an international conference, to be convened by the Socialist International in Tampere (Finland) from September 5 to 6.

United States & Canada

Upcoming Bush-Gorbachev Helsinki Summit Viewed

Bush Outlines Meeting's Goals

LD0209120790 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington September 2 TASS—U.S. President George Bush announced a forthcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to be held in Helsinki on Sunday, September 9. The announcement was made to reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, on Saturday.

Bush intimated that it would be a working meeting to discuss international and bilateral issues.

He noted that it should not be regarded as a summit and that the meeting will be a consequence of understandings reached earlier with the Soviet president on expanding American-Soviet top-level contacts and consultations.

It will be a meeting "of informal, unstructured format," very useful in the opinion of both sides.

"I'm looking forward very much to seeing Mr. Gorbachev again," the President said. "We have many matters to discuss." There is no fixed agenda for the Middle East, he added.

"When President Gorbachev was here, he and I agreed that it would be useful to have periodic meetings without casting them in the view of a summit, and that's exactly what this meeting is about. And I will be delighted to see him again, and we have many subjects to discuss."

Bush said that he proposed the meeting.

"As you know, I've been very pleased with the cooperation we've been getting from the Soviet Union on a wide array of questions and subjects," the President continued.

"And I think it is important at this juncture that we discuss issues not just as they relate to Europe and try to update where we can on these arms negotiations, but also to discuss the Middle East,"

Bush said at the same time that the meeting has no "agenda." It will be "a free-flowing discussion." The sides will discuss the situation in the Middle East, but this will not be the main item of the meeting.

The president said that they would discuss, among other things, prospects for agreement on reducing conventional forces in Europe.

Bush said that he does not see for the USSR "A burden-sharing role" in the Gulf. The President suggested last week that U.S. leading allies shoulder some expenses for the U.S. military build-up in the Gulf.

"The Soviet Union has a lot of responsibilities around the world. If they want to help in burden-sharing, that's fine. But it don't go there [as received] with a specific burden-sharing role in mind."

Bush also said "I don't see a mediating role at all "for the USSR in settling the Gulf crisis. He added that, in his opinion, the Soviet Union does not see such a role either.

He said that he does not intend to request the USSR to play such a role and believes that the USSR will not request the United States about this. "There are a lot of mediators out there," he noted.

Speaking about the Gulf crisis, Bush said that he does not see any more flexibility on the part of Iraq's Saddam Husayn on the key problem: actions within the U.N. mandate.

There is no readiness on his part to do what the international community is waiting for, he added. Bush said that he wishes success to the U.N. secretary-general's mission.

But he added that he is not optimistic about it. "I don't want to mislead the American people" by suggesting there is "some breakthrough at hand," Bush continued.

He described as "outrageous" the use of Western hostages by Husayn.

Bush expressed confidence that the U.S. military would take adequate actions to achieve U.S. aims in the Gulf.

Bush Meets With Top Aides

LD0309063390 Moscow TASS in English 0615 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington September 3 TASS—President George Bush was deep in consultations with his closest aides, including National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, on Sunday, after the announcement that he is to meet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki on September 9.

Presidential Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater told reporters that during the Helsinki meeting, the two leaders will discuss the situation in the Middle East and other hot spots, such as Cambodia and Afghanistan, and ways to expedite talks to reach agreements on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

On Monday evening, President Bush is expected to return to Washington from his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine.

U.S. Lawmakers Welcome Talks

PM0409082490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Runup to Helsinki Meeting"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Sep—U.S. President G. Bush held a conference Sunday with National Security Adviser B. Scowcroft and close advisers within the framework of preparations for the forthcoming 9 September meeting with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev in Helsinki.

Presidential Press Secretary M. Fitzwater stated that at the meeting in the Finnish capital the two leaders will discuss the situation in the Near East region, the position in other areas of conflict—Cambodia and Afghanistan—and ways to accelerate the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe.

Congressional leaders considered the U.S. and Soviet presidents' agreement to have a meeting to discuss international and bilateral problems, including the situation in the Persian Gulf region, to be very timely.

"I consider the decision to hold the summit at this time to be a wise one," T. Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, stated on CBS' "Face the Nation." "I consider it important both for President Bush and for President Gorbachev to have a chance to discuss not only cooperation in settling the Gulf crisis—which is noteworthy in itself—but to look ahead to what joint efforts they could make in the future under certain circumstances. Cooperation between the two great powers in this area is an entirely new and very positive dimension in international relations." T. Foley emphasized that Congress supports the U.S. President's current course in the Near East and hopes that, above all, "economic pressure and diplomatic efforts" will work.

Similar statements were voiced during the show by Senate minority leader R. Dole, who is currently in Leningrad with a congressional delegation. "I consider it very important that Presidents Bush and Gorbachev have reached a clear understanding about what needs to be done over the Gulf crisis and when it should be done," he noted.

Commentary on Decision To Hold Helsinki Summit

Need To 'Work Together'

PM0409082890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Gan: "That's the Way It Should Be"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Sep—Initially the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush scheduled for next Sunday was called a "surprise" in Washington. But, on reflection, the word was later dropped, with people saying that this is the way that the process of new relations between the two great powers should proceed.

The U.S. Administration considers the Helsinki meeting important for two reasons. First, of course, because of Iraq's aggression and the possibility of eliminating its results. In conversation with me a White House staffer rightly noted that the Soviet Union has legitimate interests in the region and therefore has a stake in establishing peace to the south of its borders. "Both our countries," he said, "should think hard about what to do in this situation."

The Iraqi aggression will probably be by no means the only point on the meeting agenda. Local observers think that discussion will also cover all issues of Soviet-U.S. relations, which will remain at the center of international life whatever the circumstances.

The Helsinki meeting is being seen in the United States as confirmation that the two countries can and should work together and that regional crises should under no circumstances deflect attention from what is now the core of our existence—the task of regulating Soviet-U.S. relations.

Degree of Accord 'High'

LD0309132590 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush are meeting in Helsinki next Sunday [9 September]. Yuriy Solton writes the following in comment:

The Helsinki meeting is being held within the framework of the political dialogue between Moscow and Washington which became very active lately. It cannot be called a full-scale summit, which is to be held later. It would be rather a working meeting President Bush suggested to discuss urgent world problems. And there is no fixed agenda.

However, it's clear that the leaders of the two countries will focus on the Persian Gulf and disarmament. The degree of accord is rather high. If it were not for that accord we would have a far more serious international crisis because of the Gulf. The unanimity of the Soviet Union, the United States, and also the other permanent members of the UN Security Council, in their condemnation of the Iraqi aggressors and economic sanctions, as well as measures to enforce them, have been an important factor for stabilizing the situation to a certain extent. True, some say that the Soviet Union and the United States have different approaches to settling the crisis. The United States tends to rely on force because it does not want any delays, while the Soviet Union seeks to act as mediator. I would say that Moscow is far from trying to play that role. Both Moscow and Washington would like to avoid a military clash. The combination of military and economic pressure on Baghdad with efforts to find a peace settlement is an excellent example of cooperation. What shape it will take in the future will become clear after the meeting in Helsinki. However, I'm certain already now that political methods of easing tension in the Gulf will be looked for.

Disarmament problems also require early solutions. When Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush had talks in Washington in early June they reached agreement on the need to finalize already this year a treaty on conventional forces in Europe and also a treaty to cut by one half their countries' strategic offensive arms. There has been considerable progress since then. However, a number of obstacles still remain.

New factors changing the situation in Europe have emerged. For instance, the early unification of the two Germanies. I believe that the meeting in Helsinki will produce political decisions making it possible to hold a successful all-European summit conference with the participation of the United States and Canada in November to discuss new structures of European security.

When he announced his forthcoming meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, President Bush said he was very satisfied with cooperation with the Soviet Union on a broad range of problems. Moscow agrees with this evaluation of U.S.-Soviet relations. Greater understanding between the two countries is developing into partnership in tackling complicated international problems to have a favorable effect on world developments.

U.S.-Soviet Interests Assessed

*LD0409132690 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 4 Sep 90*

[Text] There has been no good reassuring news from the Persian Gulf. Unfortunately, only reports about the deepening of the stalemate and growing dangerous military confrontation are coming. Aleksandr Pogodin makes these comments:

In these conditions, special significance is attached to the coming meeting of the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States. It is of fundamental importance that the Gorbachev-Bush talks will take place in an atmosphere of growing understanding between the two countries.

Comparatively recently, the rivalry of Moscow and Washington only increased tension in the Middle East. According to the chairman of the Commission of European Communities, Jacques Delors, but for the present day relaxation, the situation could be absolutely tragic if the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States would collide in that part of the world. Now, as the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher believes, the Gorbachev-Bush meeting will become a brilliant step attempting to ease the situation in the Persian Gulf.

It must be said that the Soviet and American approaches to the issue cannot be called identical. Washington clearly stakes on increasing the threat of force, if not immediate use of armed force. As for Moscow, it lays the stress on political means and rules out the possibility of involvement in military sanctions against Iraq.

The balance of these approaches is reflected in the Security Council Resolution 665 that permits minimal use of force to guarantee the effectiveness of economic sanctions against Iraq. But despite all these evident and notable differences, Washington and Moscow see eye to eye on the key issue—they resolutely denounce the Iraqi aggression, don't recognize the legality of the annexation of Kuwait, demand the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwaiti territory and the rstoration of its legitimate regime. Apparently, the two presidents will proceed from this at their meeting on Sunday. It is hard to say now, of course, how far they will go.

Leaders United Against Iraq

*PM0309164190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Article by IZVESTIYE political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "And This Time in Helsinki"]

[Text] So the Soviet and U.S presidents will meet in Helsinki 9 September, and it is believed that the main question on their agenda will be the Gulf crisis. Saddam Husayn has swallowed up Kuwait and does not yet want to leave, despite five Security Council resolutions which enshrined an unprecedented degree of Soviet-U.S. cooperation. And now Bush has proposed direct contacts, by expressing willingness to fly to Helsinki, taking account of Gorbachev's heavy workload with domestic affairs, with an exceptionally important USSR Supreme Soviet session opening 10 September.

The two countries are united in their rejection of the Iraqi aggression. However, how far will their cooperation extend? How can it be made more effective? As for differences in position, how can we ensure that they are not exploited by the aggressor?

The Americans would have preferred Iraq's political capitulation, but are skeptical about the possibility of any metamorphosis in Husayn and therefore are holding a big and ever increasingly large stick. Moscow is gambling on political and only political means of settling the crisis and is still emphatically ruling out any Soviet military participation in opposing Iraq.

That is the basic difference.

Fears have also slipped out into the open from the Soviet side which I would call traditional fears or, conversely, fears for the future. These have been prompted by the scale and pace of the U.S. Armed Forces buildup in the crisis zone. During August Bush transferred more than 100,000 soldiers, sailors, and airmen there. Up to 200,000 are expected to be there by the end of September. The gigantic military mechanism is working like clockwork, inevitably making Soviet generals and politicians bristle: After all, this is alongside our borders. After all, this is a show of U.S. power, which we have opposed for decades. Are we now supposed to welcome it?

Hence the critical reservations voiced last Thursday [30 August] at the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee. What if the Americans stay even after Saddam Husayn is gone?

Whether they stay or not it is quite logical to suppose that U.S. positions in the Middle East in the event of a victory over the aggressor would be strengthened and its influence would be paramount—in line with the efforts which the United States is currently making to curb the aggressor. This cannot be avoided. We will have to concur with this, especially since we are not as prepared to pay the same price—in both systems and people—as the Americans to restore Kuwait's independence and sovereignty. But we should think about what an increased U.S. influence will mean under changed conditions—not in the previous framework of global confrontation and the "cold war," but in the new international climate of cooperation and partnership. We should not, of course, expect 100-percent altruism from the United States, but there are no grounds for supposing there will be any increased threat to the Soviet Union. Our eyes are wide open to our fears, but is it not time to replace irrational fear with new thinking?

Now take the present, current aspect of our fears. Everyday the number of armed Americans in the Middle East increases by 3-4,000. But what other option did Bush have in the conditions left him by Husayn, who had suddenly captured Kuwait and was transferring tank divisions to the Saudi border? It is harder to win something back than to defend it. And defense against a regime that had demonstrated its piratical intent could only be ensured through a massive and threatening rather than symbolic military presence. Which is what Bush did—with the approval of his country and its allies.

His resolute action has essentially averted the two worst-case scenarios: an invasion of Saudi Arabia and a possible Iraqi success in that act. Moreover, the rapid concentration of U.S. and allied armed forces has created the military pressure on the aggressor without which the effectiveness of the political and economic pressure sanctioned by the August Security Council resolutions would have been sharply reduced. It is hard to say whether Saddam Husayn's conscience will be pricked by this showing of the big stick, but words of condemnation alone would clearly have been unsuccessful.

Now for the other side of the first crisis since the cold war—a crisis, which has become a kind of testbed for the Soviet-American partnership. It is well known that Americans are fervent devotees of strength. They feel cramped right now within the bounds of the UN resolutions. The greater the strength they have, the less patience they have, and the stronger the temptation is to use that force. And it explains Soviet tactics, it shows the Soviet Union's place in this unusual tandem. Moscow stresses peaceful, political means of resolving the crisis—and them alone. It thereby restrains Washington officialdom. The restraint is primarily exercised via the United Nations, via the mechanism for drafting resolutions in the Security Council. Moscow's tactics were demonstrated, in particular, during the preparation of Resolution 665, which authorizes the use of force to back up sanctions against Iraq.

In conditions of a high concentration of military force and extreme hostiliy and suspicion between the sides in conflict there exists the risk of spontaneous combustion, as it were. The other day the well-known American political expert and former diplomat Jeane Kirkpatrick recalled Clausewitz' words: "War is the province of chance." Its results cannot be predicted. War in the Middle East would threaten awful degrees of escalation, including Iraq's use of chemical weapons against Israel and Israel's use of nuclear weapons against Iraq. The oil shock and economic upheavals would directly or indirectly affect the whole world. It would be a local war with global consequences. It would adversely affect the future of our reforms, dashing hopes of expanding economic cooperation with the West, whose potential would be diverted to its own problems.

President Bush and Secretary of State Baker express satisfaction with the degree of cooperation with the Soviet leadership. But there are those in American politics and the American press who see opportunism and even cynicism in Moscow's realism. Critics observe that while condemning aggression Moscow is in no hurry to remove its military specialists from Iraq, who number around 200. To this, not without apologetic strains, Moscow's representatives reply that, first, the specialists service military equipment "in the rear" and are in no way involved in military operations or their preparation and, second, they will be recalled as their contracts expire.

This is the public position, but in confidential discussions senior staffers of the USSR Foreign Ministry complain that you cannot describe it as morally irreproachable. In their opinion, an ambiguous situation has arisen which will get worse if Iraq persists in refusing to submit to the will of the world community. In informed Defense Ministry circles it is explained that the question falls within the competence of the political leadership: If it decides as much, we will end the contracts and recall the specialists. To this, without hiding interdepartmental disagreements, Foreign Ministry staffers reply: But who should "put" the recall recommendation to the leadership? Given that the matter concerns military men?

Well-informed people also cite the real financial rationale of the story concerning the military specialists. Iraq owes the Soviet Union more than $6 billion. Breaking the contracts will give Baghdad grounds for cancelling the debts. Hence the line of putting up with the ambiguous situation until the last moment in the hope that the conflict will, after all, be resolved by political means and the billions remain intact.

As you can see, the extremely delicate question of our military men in the camp of the aggressor needs to be resolved or at least needs a sounder explanation. Otherwise mounting protest not only overseas and in Western Europe but from the Soviet public is inevitable.

In general, in Helsinki, where the sober north European fall is arriving, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will have something to talk about when they touch upon the hot topic of the Middle East. The principle of countering aggression should unambiguously unite them. Unite them in joint action.

White House Chief of Staff's Visit Reviewed

Visit Ends, Termed 'Useful'

LD3108151490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1022 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Leningrad, 31 Aug (TASS)—John Sununu, head of the White House apparatus and a prominent figure in the U.S. Republican Party, who has been in our country at the invitation of the USSR Council of Ministers, ended his visit to the USSR with a stay in Leningrad.

In conversation with a TASS correspondent, the guest noted that the further development of contacts, not only on a government level, is an important result of the trip. We must visit one another so as to establish good, friendly ties, the U.S. politician emphasized.

Asked whether he is satisfied with his trip to the Soviet Union, he replied: "It was a useful visit. We achieved what we hoped for."

Today the visitor left the USSR.

Presidential Council Discussed

PM0309094590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Shalnev: "What John Sununu Learned in Moscow. White House Shares Experience With Kremlin"]

[Text] As a high-ranking Kremlin official said to me, "The efficient organization with which the U.S. President's staff works can only be envied."

Indeed, the main aim of the short visit to Moscow by John Sununu, White House chief of staff and one of President Bush's five or six most trusted aides, was to share experience of organizing the work of the President's staff. Sununu flew into Moscow Tuesday evening, left by air for Leningrad on Thursday, and departed the USSR on Friday. The visit was short, and there is almost no information about it.

But all the same, there will inevitably be leaks of information. Incidentally, there were also leaks during the previous round of the exchange of experience between the White House and Kremlin staffers, during the Washington round, when the U.S. functionaries gave information—quite detailed information—to U.S. journalists. But there was was nothing from our officials for our journalists, as though our press should simply not raise this topic.

This time, after a great many phone calls, I managed to glean a few details. It transpires that Sununu was actively interested in the question of whether Gorbachev's Presidential Council is now in its final form or whether the process of its structural development will continue, eventually assuming a form similar to the White House's National Security Council, whose permanent membership includes, besides the President, just a few people (the secretary of state, the defense secretary, the treasury secretary, the vice president, the CIA director, the attorney general) but which has the support of a very large staff whose members are divided into all sorts of different departments—some dealing with relations with the Soviet Union and with arms control, some specializing in the economy, finance, and trade.

What information did the White House emissary take away with him? We explained to him, I was told by the Kremlin official whom I quoted at the beginning of this report, that the Presidential Council is still in the formative stage and that it will be another few months before....

Another noteworthy fact: The U.S. President's team will be rather younger than the Soviet president's. Over there, I was told, there is an efficiently organized system for identifying promising people while they are at university, identifying them with a view to subsequently recruiting them for supremely responsible state service, including service in the White House, in the U.S. President's entourage. Youth means not only or not so much the axiomatic lack of experience, it also means new ideas, new views, and a new style....

"Are we going to apply U.S. experience here in the Soviet Union, in the Kremlin?"

"In many respects, yes," my interlocutor replied.

Shevardnadze's Visit to China Described

Objectives of Visit Viewed

OW3108220390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 31 Aug 90

[IZVESTIYA reporter on Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's Far East trip]

[Text] After Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's trip to the Far East was planned, the thought arose of making a short stay in China during the visit. First of all, the necessity of a visit to China was dictated by the following circumstances. Recently, Soviet foreign policy was mainly geared to Europe and the United States. China and the whole of Asia was considered of secondary importance. The leaders in Beijing are watching the closeness between the United States and the Soviet Union with worry. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States should make China feel that it has been impaired.

One of the objectives of Shevardnadze's visit to Harbin is to break the interuption of contact between the foreign ministers of China and the Soviet Union over a long period [su chong liang guo jiao wang zhong de chang qi jian duan]. The Soviet foreign minister will brief Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen on the current situation regarding the German question during their talks. Diplomatic circles in the Soviet Union hold that China should not be excluded from the process of solving the German question because China is one of the participants in the anti-Hitler alliance. Still less, China is a big power and should not remain indifferent to European affairs. The decision to hold a Soviet-Chinese consultation in Harbin was made before the Gulf crisis occurred. However, a visit by Shevardnadze at this time is most appropriate for (?discussing a solution to) the crisis. China recently played an important role in shaping the world community's general strategy to deal with Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. The unity recently demonstrated by the five permanent members of the Security Council laid down a sound foundation for the future. It is necessary to strengthen mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and China on this question.

Doubtless, the situation in Cambodia will be discussed. It is our impression that China has begun to change its attitude toward this question. This will result in the emergence of an opportunity for the quick settlement of the Cambodian conflict. How much has China changed its attitude—this will be clarified during the talks.

Shevardnadze will hold one day of talks with Qian Qichen on 1 September. The Soviet foreign minister will fly to Pyongyang, capital of the DPRK, on 2 September.

Shevardnadze on Goals of PRC Visit

LD3108160990 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin August 31 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here on a brief visit today. At Harbin Airport he was met by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and other officials.

Shevardnadze told TASS that the goal of his visit was to discuss with the Chinese side pressing international issues, first and foremost, the situation in the Gulf, a Cambodian settlement, the state of affairs in the Asia-Pacific region and in Europe.

"The USSR attaches much importance to dialogue, to synchronising approaches with China, without the participation of which genuine stability on the international scene is inconceivable," Shevardnadze said.

Shevardnadze noted that the talks would also focus on a wide range of issues of bilateral relations. "We will do everything we can for Sino-Soviet ties to keep improving," he said.

Shevardnadze's visit to China is the first leg of his tour of the Far East. He will also visit Democratic Korea, pay an official visit to Japan, and deliver a report at the international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation" in Vladivostok.

Previews Far East Talks

LD0109001990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1945 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS special correspondent Georgiy Shmelev; "On Board Il-62M"]

[Text] August 31 TASS—Speaking on board a Soviet jet taking him to China to begin his tour of the Far East, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union attached much importance to the coming talks with the leaders of China, Democratic Korea, and Japan on key problems of modern world politics. Besides, he said, the visit is taking place after the "cold war" has ended; but against that, there is the threat of a "hot war" in the Persian Gulf.

The minister left Moscow today for working visits to China and Democratic Korea, and an official visit to Japan. He will also stop over in Vladivostok where he will deliver a report at the international conference "Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation". The topic of the report will be Soviet policy in the Asia-Pacific region.

The circumstances that have taken shape in the Middle East call for extremely vigorous political and diplomatic efforts to resolve the critical situation in the Gulf, the foreign minister continued.

The Soviet Union' stance on the matter is well known—we are acting in different directions while strictly abiding by the U.N. decision.

"Naturally this issue will be considered at every stage of our trip," Shevardnadze stressed.

"We intend to hold a dialogue with the Chinese side on a Cambodian settlement. The other day the Soviet Union and China, acting as members of the U.N. Security Council, approved at the meeting of the five in New York very constructive documents which we believe will form the basis of the long-awaited solution of this drawn-out conflict.

"Much attention will be paid to bilateral relations. We are seeking to continuously improve such relations. We plan to hold conceptual talks on the important problem of overcoming military confrontation on the order. Respective talks will be held in Moscow on September 10.

"We hope for a substantial conversation in Pyongyang. We have had no meeting for quite some time and many problems have been accumulated needing discussion with Korean friends," Shevardnadze said. The topics include the situation on the Korean Peninsula and the talks between North and South Korea. As you know, the two sides held a high-level meeting the other day.

"Of course, we shall also discuss how we should develop our bilateral relations further.

"During the next stage of my tour I plan to address the international conference 'The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation' in Vladivostok, where I will set out some of our ideas on the problems of this dynamic and complex region.

"I should point to great interest in the world in the Vladivostok conference. It exceeds all our expectations and is evidence of the place and role this region has to play in world politics.

"The discussion of preparations for President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan will undoubtedly dominate the forthcoming meetings in Tokyo. I think it will be no exaggeration to say that this visit will be all-important for the future of our bilateral relations.

"Certainly, the talks will concern bilateral relations, including the signing of a peace treaty between the two countries, which is one of the most sensitive and complex issues," Shevardnadze said. We expect that new agreements promoting the further development of our cooperation will be signed, the USSR foreign minister said in conclusion.

Lays Wreath in Harbin

LD0109100190 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT 1 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov, Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin September 1 TASS—The first day of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's working visit to Harbin, the administrative centre of Heilungkiang Province, began today with laying wreaths at monuments to Soviet soldiers who perished during the liberation of north-eastern China. The red ribbon on the garlands reads "eternal glory to Soviet soldiers - from the USSR foreign minister".

The present meeting of the two countries' foreign ministers is held on the land of Heilungkiang Province not by chance. This province of the Chinese People's Republic accounts for 60 per cent of the entire volume of cross-border trade between the USSR and China. The province maintains economic cooperation in line with the strategic course "link with the South, openness to the North".

The province has established direct links with nine Soviet Union republics, 30 autonomous republics, territories and regions, and 700 Soviet factories and organisations.

Steel rolled stock, chemical fertilizers, cement and cast glass dominate Chinese imports from the USSR. The province, in turn, supplies soya beans, peanuts, canned meat, stationery and sports goods to the USSR. In the structure of direct links emphasis is put on technical and economic cooperation and the building of cooperative [passage indistinct] year.

China is the first leg of Shevardnadze's tour of the Far East. He will also pay a working visit to democratic Korea, stop in Vladivostok to address the conference "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation" and pay an official visit to Japan.

Shevardnadze will stay in Harbin for two days.

Honored at Harbin Dinner

LD0109123790 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 1 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov, Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin September 1 TASS—The talk with managers of Heilongjiang Province capped the first day of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's stay in Harbin.

Shevardnadze is paying a two-day working visit to China.

The talks between the two countries' foreign ministers were held at the Huayuancun government residence today. The two men discussed a wide range of pressing international issues and bilateral relations.

The people's government of Heilongjiang Province gave a dinner in honour of Shevardnadze this evening.

Shevardnadze, PRC's Qian Hold Talks on Gulf, Cambodia

Shevardnadze Views Talks

LD0109062590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Talks were held today in Harbin between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR Foreign Minister, and Qian Qichen, the Chinese foreign minister. Our special correspondent Viktor Levin reports:

[Levin] The talks lasted three hours and ended literally a few minutes ago. I was able, immediately after the ministers had a very thorough conversation, to ask Eduard Amvrosiyevich what his impression was of what they had talked about and what conclusions could be made.

Comrade Shevardnadze said that the talks took place in very warm, friendly conditions, in an atmopshere of mutual understanding. Many issues were discussed and in point of fact very close positions were noticeable on all issues.

The minister began, Shevardnadze told me, by discussing the critical situation in the Persian Gulf region. It is well known that the Soviet Union and China are working together very fruitfully in solving this problem in the Security Council. During the talks it became clear that they presently intend to develop this cooperation in order to achieve a peaceful solution to this problem, to achieve through peaceful means the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. Shevardnadze is convinced that there is a possibility of a peaceful solution to this problem.

The Cambodian problem was discussed as well. In the ministers' opinion, the decisive phase is now beginning. Eduard Amvrosiyevich said that the positions have been coming together for a long time and now a way out is appearing, so to speak, to move onto complete new lines, thus opening up the real prospect of solving this problem.

I understood that the problem of the situation on the Korean Peninsula was also the subject of broad discussion. You know that Eduard Amvrosiyevich will arrive tomorrow in Pyongyang. Talks will be held there. But this problem is of interest to the Chinese as well, and so there was an exchange of opinions which revealed that both the Soviet Union and China would like to help detente on the Korean Peninsula. The situation is fairly complicated, and they are jointly in favor of the development of dialogue between the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and South Korea. It seems to me that it is worth paying particular attention to this point.

The ministers further came to the conclusion today that it is already possible to officially announce that on 10 October a regular round of talks will begin on mutual Armed Forces reductions and increasing trust in the military sphere in the Soviet-China border region. Shevardnadze called these talks unique. The fact is that now an agreement has been achieved to move from the general discussion which was held earlier to specifics, to talk of what has to be done and how.

Sees 'No Differences' During Talks

LD0109113590 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] The USSR and China intend to cooperate with a view to achieving a peaceful soluion to the Persian Gulf crisis, newsmen were told by the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, who had held talks with his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, for three hours in the city of Harbin.

The two sides pointed to the need to do everything possible to prevent the confict from growing into a war.

No differences emerged during the talks, said Shevardnadze.

According to news agencies, during his visit to China Shevardnadze will also discuss ways of reaching a settlement in Cambodia, the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, and the state of affairs in Europe.

TASS on Improvement in Joint Ties

LD0109181290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0432 GMT 1 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin, 1 Sep (TASS)—One of the central questions at the negotiations which began at the Huayuancun residence today between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen, will be that of development of relations between the USSR and the PRC. The Soviet minister arrived here late yesterday evening for a two-day working visit within the context of his trip to the Far East. He will also make a working visit to the DPRK, will stop in Vladivostok, where he is to speak at the opening of the "Asian-Pacific Ocean: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation" international meeting, and will also make an official visit to Japan.

The normalization of interstate relations between the two countries was heralded by the summit meeting which took place during the official visit to the PRC in May 1989 by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It was at that time that the sides laid the foundations of bilateral relations at a new stage of their development. They were given fresh stimulus by the April visit to the Soviet Union by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council. All this made it possible for the sides to count on substantial quantitative and qualitative development of cooperation between the countries in the most diverse spheres and areas.

What has specifically been achieved here recently? Political dialogue is under way between the countries, alongside invariable respect by the sides of the right independently to determine one's own approaches both to internal and to international affairs; meetings between foreign ministers take place regularly; and a protocol has been signed on consultations between the foreign policy departments of the USSR and the PRC. The sides have also signed agreements on the guiding principles of mutual reduction of armed forces and strengthening confidence in the military sphere in the Soviet-Chinese border area. It should be noted that over the past two years, the line of the border has been agreed on for nearly 90 percent of its total length. Economic ties have grown: the volume of trade turnover last year amounted to R2.4 billion, and the volume of border trade increased tenfold compared to 1987, exceeding R500 million. We export to the PRC machines, equipment, means of transportation, among other things, receiving in exchange agricultural and livestock produce, and consumer goods. Scientific and cultural cooperation is developing most dynamically: Last year agreements were signed on direct ties between the academies of sciences of the two countries; border tourist exchange has been established; and new Khabarovsk-Harbin, Alma-Ata-Urumchi, Moscow- Shanghai air routes have been opened. More than 20,000 Chinese workers are working in the Soviet Union on contract, mainly in the Maritime Kray. This summer a PRC trade and economic exhibition was operating in Moscow, and this September there is a return USSR exhibition in Beijing.

However, there are reserves for the further expansion of Soviet- Chinese ties at various levels, and very substantial reserves at that. Especially, if one proceeds here from the aspiration, as Eduard Shevardnadze stressed in conversation with the TASS correspondent, "to do everything within our power to ensure that Soviet-Chinese ties continue to follow an upward trend."

Both Sides Comment on Talks

LD0109135190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 1 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov, Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin, 1 Sep (TASS)—"We have the best possible impression of the conversations that took place in Harbin," the USSR and PRC foreign ministers told journalists at the end of the Soviet- Chinese talks.

E.A. Shevardnadze arrived here on Friday [31 August] night on a working visit within the framework of his trip to the Far East. The Soviet minister will also pay a working visit to the DPRK; make a stopover in Vladivostok, where he will deliver a speech at the opening of the international meeting "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation;" and also pay an official visit to Japan.

During three hours of talks we managed to discuss a wide range of important issues, E.A. Shevardnadze noted. The question of the extremely tense situation in the Persian Gulf zone was naturally in the foreground. We expressed mutual concern over the situation in this world region, and we also said that we seek the settlement of this conflict by peaceful means. We will continue to cooperate in the future with the object of speedy establishment of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet minister stressed.

Despite numerous difficulties and obstacles that exist here, we believe the path chosen by us in addressing this crisis is correct, E.A. Shevardnadze noted. Besides, we considered the Cambodian problem in detail and believe that a decisive phase has been reached in the settlement of this conflict.

"Very useful work" had been carried out in this area and the hope was expressed that all the Cambodian parties will reach an accord over a short timescale on the basis of the decisions agreed upon by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. We came to the conclusion that a "Cambodian settlement is not far away."

We also examined the situation concerning Afghanistan, the Korean peninsula, and the general situation in the Asian and Pacific region, said the Soviet minister.

The minister noted that extremely substantial positive changes have taken place in Soviet-Chinese relations over the last year. In particular, it has been decided that on 10 September the next sitting of participants in the talks on mutual armed force reduction and confidence building in the military sphere on the Soviet-Chinese border will begin in Moscow. On the Soviet side the invitation to the Chinese foreign minister to visit the Soviet Union on an official visit was confirmed, said E.A. Shevardndaze in conclusion.

Qian Qichen, People's Republic of China foreign minister, in his turn, emphasized in a conversation with journalists that the talks which had been held concerned an exceedingly broad spectrum of problems and proceeded in a friendly, constructive atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding and interaction.

Besides international issues, the parties devoted great attention to the further development of bilateral relations. The Chinese minister stated that an accord had been reached on the opening in the very near future of a USSR consulate in Shenyang and a People's Republic of China consulate in Khabarovsk, which will facilitate the expansion of direct relations between the border regions of the two states.

Joint Statement Issued

LD0209012190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0020 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin, 2 Sep (TASS)—The USSR and PRC foreign ministers expressed deep concern at the current situation in the Persian Gulf. They believe that the crisis in the Persian Gulf is not only a serious threat to peace and security in this region, but also has a serious influence on the stability of the international situation, says a press statement published here today on the talks beween the USSR and PRC foreign ministers in Harbin.

The two sides once more stated, the report says, that the Iraqi troops should be immediately, unconditionally, and completely withdrawn from Kuwait; Kuwait's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity restored; and the safety and freedom of foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait guaranteed.

The two sides are in favor of a political settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf by peaceful methods, on the basis of the strict and rigorous implementation of the appropriate UN Security Council resolutions.

The two countries' foreign ministers state that, as permanent members of the UN Security Council, China and the Soviet Union have a great responsibility to preserve peace throughout the whole world. The two sides will continue to consult and cooperate with each other with the aim of restoring peace and stability to the Persian Gulf as soon as possible.

The USSR and PRC foreign ministers are of the same mind in believing, the Soviet-Chinese statement continues, that the decisive phase has begun in the solution of the Cambodian problem.

The USSR and the PRC express the hope that all the Cambodian parties on the basis of the documents drawn up by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, will reach an agreement on a political settlement in the shortest possible time, will form a supreme national council, and create the conditions for holding general elections in the very near future.

The two countries' foreign ministers, the report stresses, expressed profound satisfaction regarding the dynamic development of Soviet-Chinese relations, which are embracing more and more new areas. The two sides stated that they will continue to make joint efforts to implement the agreements reached at the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting last year and develop good-neighborly, friendly relations between the USSR and the PRC on the basis of the Soviet- Chinese communique of 18 May 1989.

The talks between the USSR and PRC foreign ministers took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Further on Joint Communique

OW0209171090 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] During their talks in Harbin City, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen expressed deep concern over the present situation in the Gulf region. They issued a press communique today on the results of their talks.

The foreign ministers of the two countries reiterated that Iraq must withdraw its troops from Kuwait, restore its sovereignty, and ensure the safety of foreign citizens in Iraq and Kuwait. Both sides stand for a political solution to the crisis on the basis of the resolute implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. They stressed the importance of cooperation and continued consultation on this question.

The communique says: The foreign ministers of China and the Soviet Union also discussed the Cambodian issue. They concluded that the efforts to settle the conflict on the basis of the resolution adopted by the five permanent members of the Security Council have reached a decisive stage.

Shevardnadze leaves for a two-day working visit to Democratic Korea today, after which he will return to Vladivostok to attend an international conference on the question of cooperation in the Asia and Pacific Region. Finally, he will visit Japan.

Shevardnadze Departs for Pyongyang

LD0209020690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Harbin, 2 Sep (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, left Harbin for Pyongyang. He was here on a two day working visit, during which he held talks with Qiam Qichen, the PRC foreign minister, on the most important current international problems. They also discussed further development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Eduard Shevardnadze was accompanied to Harbin airport by Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister, and leaders of the Heilongjiang Province people's government. Among those accompanying him was Oleg Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC.

China Looks for Stability in Soviet Union

LD0309065690 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing September 3 TASS—"China is closely following the development of the situation in the Soviet Union, the course of socialist construction and reforms in the country. China wants the situation in the Soviet Union to be stable and the economy to develop," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Li Zhaoxing said in an interview with the BANYUE TAN magazine.

In May last year, a historic Soviet-Chinese summit was held, resulting in the normalisation of relations between the two countries. Now, there are good prospects for the development of Sino-Soviet relations, Li Zhaoxing said.

He recalled the words of Premier Li Peng during his visit to the Soviet Union in April, that "if we are guided by the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the spirit of the Soviet-Chinese joint communique, relations between the Soviet Union and China will develop healthily and steadily".

Chinese Reportage on Shevardnadze Visit

WA0309163590

For Chinese reportage on the visit to China by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, including talks between Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen with officials from Heilongjiang Province, see the Soviet Union section of the 4 September and subsequent issues of the China DAILY REPORT.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Stops in DPRK on Far East Tour

Arrives in Pyongyang 2 Sep

LD0209160990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 2 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, arrived in Pyongyang, capital of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, today 2 September for a short working visit.

[Correspondent L. Krichevskiy] He was met at the airport by Kim Yong-nam, DPRK foreign minister, and officials from the Foreign Ministry of the republic and from the Soviet Embassy in Pyongyang. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon talks began between the USSR and DPRK foreign ministers in the (Mansudjo) Palace of Congresses.

At the center of their attention was the situation on the Korean peninsula in light of the fundamental political changes that have taken place not only in Europe but also in the Far East. The improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations and the development of links between the Soviet Union and South Korea have put on the agenda the elaboration, jointly with our allies in the DPRK, of new approaches to the problem of reducing military confrontation on the peninsula and in the Asian-Pacific region as a whole. The talks will be continued on Monday 3 September. [video shows wreath-laying, talks]

Lays Wreath at Monument

LD0209102290 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Nadashkevich, Georgiy Shmelev, and Alexander Ryabov]

[Text] Pyongyang, 2 September TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze began his working visit to People's Korea today with laying a wreath in the Chosungsan cemetery of revolutionaries.

The names of people who gave their lives for the happiness of Korean people, are carved in marble at this memorial complex.

Later, Shevardnadze and his party laid a wreath at the "Freedom" monument. It was put up by grateful Korean people to Soviet soldiers who liberated Korea from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

The monument was built atop Mt. Koranbon towering over Pyongyang. It is a symbol of Soviet-Korean friendship cemented by blood in the struggle for the common cause.

A wreath-laying ceremony was also held at the monument to Chinese people's volunteers who fought together with Korean people against the aggression by the American imperialists in 1950-1953.

Later in the day, Eduard Shevardnadze and Korean Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam began talks with a tete-a-tete meeting at the Mansudjo Palace of Congresses.

Received by DPRK Counterpart

PM0209163390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Begun"]

[Excerpts] Pyongyang, 2 Sep—USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze arrived here today on a brief working visit from Harbin (PRC). He was met at the capital's airport by DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam and other officials. [passage omitted]

Also today, a one-on-one meeting in the Mansudjo Palace of Congresses marked the beginning of talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam. On the agenda was an exchange of opinions on a range of problems of the contemporary international situation—above all, the situation on the Korean peninsula and in the Persian Gulf zone and a Cambodian settlement—as well as a discussion of the prospects for the further development of bilateral relations between the USSR and the DPRK.

Discusses Regional Issues

LD0209133990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Nadashkevich, Aleksandr Ryabov, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Pyongyang, 2 September TASS—The first round of talks—lasting more than four hours—between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affaris and Kim Yong-nam, DPRK minister of foreign affairs, which took place here during the second half of the day in the Mansudjo Palace of Congresses has ended. The Soviet minister arrived on a brief working visit in Pyongyang this morning from Harbin (PRC).

The talks began with a one-to-one conversation that lasted for one hour 15 minutes. As King Yong-nam noted before the meeting, the DPRK is glad to welcome the Soviet minister who has arrived here on a working visit. Interest in the Soviet-Korean talks is exceptionally high both in the DPRK and abroad, he stressed.

The sides intend to consider a wide range of international problems, first and foremost the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf zone and the situation on the Korean peninsula as well as issues connected with bilateral relations. The exchange of opinions on the situation in the Persian Gulf region is especially significant in connection wth the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and George Bush, President of the United States, which opens in Helsinki on 9 September.

In the evening Kim Yong-nam, the DPRK minister of foreign affaris, held a dinner in honor of his guest.

The Soviet-Korean talks will continue on Monday morning.

Meets With Journalists

LD0209202290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Report by diplomatic correspondent Viktor Levin from Pyongyang]

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich has held a conversation with DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam in private, followed by talks between the full delegations. Bilateral relations, the state of affairs on the Korean peninsula, and international problems are being discussed. On the way from Harbin to Pyongyang today, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, speaking with a group of diplomatic correspondents, said the talks with the Chinese friends could exert a beneficial influence on Pyongyang, too, as a number of problems, primarily the question of strategic stability, also affect the interests of the DPRK.

Actually, it is worth dwelling in greater detail on this conversation between Eduard Amvrosiyevich and the journalists. Shevardnadze reviewed the talks in Harbin, and from what he said the conclusion can be drawn that Soviet-Chinese relations had received fresh, very powerful impetus there. Shevardnadze said that the two sides now speak more boldly, not only of mutual understanding, but also of cooperation in many areas, particularly on the Persian Gulf. The talks in Harbin had elicited a complete coincidence of views and positions, and they come together in an aspiration, as Shevardnadze said, to prevent any further intensification of the confrontation, and to resolve the problem by peaceful means, by political methods.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich stressed that the conversations in Harbin had acquired particular significance as a result of the fact that within a few days, on 9 September, there will be a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Helsinki. Prior to this meeting, the minister said, it is very important for us to hold consultations with the Chinese side and to ascertain once more, to learn how the Chinese colleagues, our partners, envisage the long term in the Persian Gulf. This is very important.

I stress, Shevardnadze went on, that the Chinese are, like us, permanent members of the Security Council, and both they and we advocate all decisions which are made on this conflict relying precisely on the international organization, the UN Security Council. I think, the minister said, that we are accumulating quite a bit of experience in holding talks on difficult problems—for example, on the border. In recent years we have succeeded in agreeing everything connected with the precise setting of the border to the extent of nearly 90 percent. This is gigantic work. Here is another visible and very substantial result of the foreign policy of perestroyka.

Signs Border Treaty 3 Sep

LD0309093790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0823 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Nadashkevich, Aleksandr Rybakov, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Pyongyang, 3 Sep (TASS)—Talks beween E.A. Shevardnadze and Kim Yong-nam, the USSR and DPRK foreign ministers, ended today with the signing of Soviet-Korean documents on border issues at the capital's Mansundae assembly hall. A treaty on the Soviet-Korean border regime and a protocol on the demarcation of the Soviet-Korean state border were signed.

In accordance with these documents, all the questions to do with the demarcation and regime of the state border, which has a total length of 39.4 kilometers, have been fully settled.

Speaking to journalists at the end of the talks, Shevardnadze said the main provisions of the agreed report on the talks would be published. "We discussed many thorny issues," noted the foreign minister. "Naturally, we discussed above all the situation in the Persian Gulf. Our assessments and view of the situation are practically identical, particularly as far as the resolution of the crisis situation is concerned."

"The second major issue was the situation on the Korean peninsula. We attempted to analyze the situation and find ways toward further normalization here and the possibility of reducing the military stand-off and ending confrontation in this central region, as I would call it. We have a good mutual understanding in this regard. We actively support the peaceful initiatives of our Korean friends. They will be well-known to you: the signing of a nonaggression agreement and the establishment of a demilitarized zone here. The most important thing is to take down the infamous wall which separates South and North and step-by-step to reduce the armed forces and withdraw the foreign troops, and particularly nuclear weapons, from the peninsula. On all these issues we have a good mutual understanding. European questions were also discussed.

"I provided the minister with detailed information about our domestic affairs, and he wished us success. I also informed him about our relations with South Korea, about the way they are being constructed, where we are in these relations, and what the extent and scale of our scientific, trade, and economic cooperation are. The discussion was what I would call useful and necessary. It was essential. It helped us to get a better feel and understanding for our Korean friends' attitude toward this problem and our contacts with South Korea. Thus, the discussion which we had will undoubtedly help in the formulation of our position on this problem."

Today, the USSR foreign minister left Pyongyang for Vladivostok. He was accompanied to the airport by King Yong-nam and other officials.

Shevardnadze was on a working visit to the DPRK in the framework of his Far East trip, the program for which includes participation in the Vladivostok international meeting. "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation" and an official visit to Japan. Pyongyang was the second stage of his trip, after a two-day working visit to the PRC.

Focuses on Gulf Crisis

LD0309224290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The Soviet-Korean talks at foreign minister level ended today in Pyongyang. Victor Levin, our diplomatic correspondent, reports:

[Begin recording] [Levin] After the detailed talks which, following yesterday's, continued today for more than three hours. E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, told journalists that the question of the Persian Gulf crisis has become the major issue. Discussion has shown that the two sides essentially take a similar view of this problem, and their views and approaches coincide. Shevardnadze did not dwell on this thought because he has has already talked about this, and not only once, during this trip. I shall remind our listeners that the Soviet Union is trying not to allow an increase in confrontation and to solve the problem by peaceful means, and political methods. The Soviet Union, the minister said, is in favor of all decisions on this question being supported by international organizations, the UN Security Council. And now I am turning on the tape recording of the Shevardnadze interview.

[Shevardnadze] Naturally, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region has become one big question and one big problem. This has taken a lot of time because as it happened, as it has turned out, among all these problems the state of affairs on the Korean peninsula came to the center of attention. We have attempted to analyze this situation and somehow to determine the ways to further normalization, the possibilities of diminishing the military stand-off and ending the confrontation in this, I would say, the central region. In this area we have good mutual understanding. We have actively supported the peaceful initiatives of our Korean friends. These are well known to you and I shall not repeat them. These are the proposals for the conclusion of a nonaggression agreement, and the demilitarization of the region, the region known to you, the Korean leadership's proposals to demolish this celebrated wall that separates the South from the North, the gradual, stage-by-stage reduction of Armed Forces, weapons, and the withdrawal of foreign troops, especially the nuclear weapons, from the peninsula.

[Levin] It is necessary to add, on the situation on the Korean peninsula, that military and political tension has existed there for nearly 40 years. The DPRK and South Korea permanently keep large groups of armed forces amounting to over one million men in the areas adjacent to the demilitarized zone. In the south there are more than 40,000 U.S. servicemen, and 40 U.S. Air Force and Navy bases equipped with nuclear weapons. As they say in Pyongyang, there are more than 1,000 nuclear weapons. It is important to ease this tension, not only for our Korean friends' sake but also to ensure strategic stability in the Asia-Pacific region. That is why Shevardnadze attaches such great importance to solving the problems, that is why we support the positive initiatives of the DPRK. And one more question was touched upon during the talks. This is what the minister said:

[Shevardnadze] I have also talked about our relationship with South Korea, where we are, what are the levels, what dimensions of cooperation—economic, technical, trade. Well, I should say that the discussion was needed, it was useful, this discussion, necessary. It helps us to better sense our Korean friends' reaction to our contacts with South Korea, therefore the current discussion will obviously help, will be useful for shaping our approaches, our positions. [end recording]

Commentaries Assess Shevardnadze's DPRK Visit

Regional Peace Sought

LD0309141890 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Nadashkevich and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Pyongyang September 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, on a working visit to Pyongyang from September 2-3, held talks with his North Korean counterpart, Kim-Yong nam, on Soviet-North Korean relations and the most pressing international problems.

The sides also informed each other about the situations in their countries. General understanding was reached on most issues under consideration.

The ministers favoured the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, the restoration of that state's sovereignty and the implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions by all countries.

They also favoured the complete removal of nuclear and chemical weapons from Asia, the establishment of nuclear-free, peace zones there and the renunciation of large-scale war games in the region.

The reduction of conventional weapons and dismantling of foreign military bases on foreign territories will be an important factor in lessening military confrontation in the Asian-Pacific region.

True security and stability in the region can be ensured through a settlement on the Korean peninsula and the elimination of potential tension here, the ministers stated.

The low level of military confrontation and the peaceful solution of all outstanding issues between the North and the South are a necessary prerequisite to such a settlement.

Shevardnadze pointed to the constructive nature of North Korea's initiatives concerning mutual cuts in armed forces, the removal of foreign military presence in Korea, including the proposals of May 31, 1990 on confidence-building measures.

These measures provide for limited military exercises, giving preliminary notification of them, prohibiting military exercises with the participation of foreign troops, turning the demilitarised zone into a zone of peace and implementing measures to prevent unprovoked incidents.

The ministers signed a treaty on the regime of the Soviet-Korean state border and a protocol on the demarcation of the Soviet-Korean state border.

Shevardnadze confirmed a previous invitation to Kim to come to the Soviet Union on an official, friendly visit.

Significance of Talks Noted

PM0409130590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent A. Platkovskiy: "Pyongyang True to Itself"]

[Text] Pyongyang—Observers were predicting in concert that Shevardnadze's talks in Pyongyang would not be easy. The Soviet foreign minister's brief working visit to the DPRK ended yesterday, 3 September. It is now possible to say, right after the event, that those assumptions have been confirmed to a considerable extent.

I will attempt to substantiate the situation concisely. In the talks Shevardnadze adopted the position of the new thinking, which recently underwent additional development with regard to Asia. It was stated at the Irkutsk meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker that the USSR and the United States have ceased to consider each other enemies not only in Europe but also in Asia. But the DPRK's position was fixed long ago and has not undergone change: Talk of "panhuman values" is a capitulation to the class enemy. "All facts show," the newspaper NODONG SINMUN maintained in a directive article, "that the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed and cannot change. There is nothing more stupid than to believe the wolf's promise: I will not bite if you kneel before me."

So it is not hard to picture what form the dialogue took and what it cost to find points of contact. Nevertheless, as the Soviet foreign minister declared in a snap interview on the results of his talks with DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam, mutual understanding was revealed on at least two issues—on the situation in the Persian Gulf and the state of affairs on the Korean peninsula. On the latter issue we support Pyongyang's initiative aimed at improving the situation on the peninsula.

The question of the USSR's relations with South Korea was a dramatic aspect of the talks—it was this that analysts had in mind when they predicted their complex nature. Gorbachev's June meeting with No Tae-u elicited an unequivocal negative reaction in Pyongyang. As well as, incidentally, all our demarches toward the South—which are getting really close to the point beyond which diplomatic recognition of South Korea must follow.

I will explain why the DPRK perceives this process in this way. It is enshrined in Article 1 of the republic's constitution that the DPRK "represents the interests of the entire Korean people." That is, Koreans in the North and in the South. Pyongyang declares that the present administration headed by President No Tae-u, like all the previous ones, is a colonial puppet power. Political recognition of it would mean enshrining the situation of the "two Koreas" in international law and perpetuating the split in the country. This would inevitably be followed by "an intensification of enmity and mistrust and by confrontation and tension between North and South." How did the discussion of this ticklish—to put it mildly—topic proceed in Pyongyang? Shevardnadze provided information on our relations with South Korea, on the way they are being built, where we are at, and the volumes and scale of economic, technical, and trade cooperation. "The discussion was useful and necessary," the Soviet minister pointed out. "I believe that it will help us to get a better feel of our Korean friends' attitude toward our contacts with the South. The discussion that took place will undoubtedly help to shape new approaches and positions."

It is hard to say yet how the Korean side perceived the talks. At any rate, analysts consider the following point very significant: The Soviet foreign minister did not have a meeting with DPRK President Kim Il-song. Being received by the leader is not just a question of protocol. It is also a ritual which has a special concealed political meaning here.

Such, briefly, are the results of the talks. To these should also be added the signing of the treaty on the border regime between the USSR and the DPRK and the protocol on its demarcation. These documents are important—for the first time in the history of relations between Russia and Korea the border question has been legally formalized.

Shevardnadze Continues Asian Tour, Visits Japan

Arrives in Tokyo 4 Sep

LD0409071190 Moscow TASS in English 0655 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Vladivostok September 4 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today left for an official visit to Japan.

Shevardnadze was in Vladivostok to attend the second international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation", where he delivered a speech on Soviet policy in the region.

The Soviet minister's visit to Japan is scheduled to last for three days.

Welcomed by Japanese Counterpart

LD0409153490 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo September 4 TASS—By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev:

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

He was welcomed at Haneda Airport by his Japanese counterpart Taro Nakayama and other officials. The welcoming party included Soviet Ambassador to Japan Lyudvig Chizhov and Japanese Ambassador to the USSR Sumio Edamura.

Shevardnadze's visit to Japan is part of his Far Eastern tour. He has already paid brief working visits to China and North Korea and also stopped in Vladivostok to deliver an opening address to the second international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation." In his speech Shevardnadze laid down the basic elements of the Soviet policy in the region.

The talks in Tokyo will focus on bilateral relations and, first and foremost, on preparations for President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan, scheduled for next spring. The sides will also discuss the signing of a peace treaty, one of the most sensitive issues in Soviet-Japanese relations.

The ministers plan to address pressing international issues, primarily the situation that has formed in the Gulf as a result of Iraq's armed invasion of Kuwait. A joint statement is expected to be adopted upon the results of the exchange of views on this problem.

The ministers will discuss the situation in the Asia-Pacific region in light of improvements in East-West relations, the situation on the Korean peninsula and prospects for settling the long-running conflict in Cambodia.

Shevardnadze and Nakayama are expected to sign several documents, including a memorandum on cooperation between the USSR and Japan to clean up the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident, and to adopt a joint statement.

During his three-day stay in Tokyo, Shevardnadze will meet Emperor Akihito, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and other Japanese politicians.

"During the present talks we are to discuss the widest range of issues, but priority will be given to all aspects of President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Japan," Shevardnadze said upon his arrival in Tokyo.

"I do not doubt that this visit will be a turning point in bilateral relations," Shevardnadze said.

In welcoming the Soviet guest, Nakayama expressed hope that the present visit would make its contribution to Japanese-Soviet relations.

Issues Statement on Relations

LD0409165190 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kopnov, Vladimir Kuchko, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpts] Tokyo 4 September TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived on an official visit in Tokyo today, at the invitation of the Japanese Government. [passage omitted]

"We have a large agenda," Shevardnadze said on arrival in the airport, "but the talks will focus on all issues and problems connected with the forthcoming visit to Japan by President Mikhail Gorbachev. I have no doubts that this visit will become a landmark, perhaps, signalling a unique turning point in our relations."

"In the aircraft I recalled my first visit to Tokyo in 1986. Since then we have had a fairly good cooperation both as neighbours and partners. Our relations have developed dynamically in all areas. I would refer to these years as the years that accumulated positive experience and energy. But today, the time has come for more active and large-scale actions in order to extend multilateral Soviet-Japanese cooperation. I mean our bilateral relations and cooperation in the international arena on behalf of peace and security in the world."

Greeting the Soviet guest, Nakayama said he viewed talks about the forthcoming visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Japan as very important. "I hope that they will contribute to better relations between Japan and the Soviet Union at this new stage and promote friendly ties between the two countries. I want to take this opportunity to tell you that the Soviet boy Kostya, who is now in a Hokkaido hospital with severe burns, is feeling better."

Prepares For Gorbachev Visit

LD0109043190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev reports from the USSR Foreign Ministry:

The planned Soviet-Japanese summit meeting is understandibly the focus of observers's attention. For this reason, great interest is being aroused by the coming official visit to Japan by Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister who today left on a trip to Asian-Pacific Ocean region countries.

The visit to Japan is being viewed as one of the preparatory stages for the meeting of the leaders of our two countries. What will come of this visit, what other contacts are planned by the two sides in the framework of preparations for the Soviet-Japanese summit meeting, and where is it to take place? With this question, a TASS correspondent turned today to a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"The visit by Eduard Shevardnadze to Japan," the Soviet diplomat said, "should be followed by a visit by the Japanese foreign minister to the Soviet Union. A principled agreement in this regard has been reached by both sides. These visits should prepare the ground for the coming summit meeting which will take place in Japan."

Answering a question on whether before the USSR president's trip to Japan an analogical visit by the Japanese prime minister to Moscow is planned, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "We know nothing of any such plans."

Commentary Gives Overview of Ties With Japan

OW0209035190 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Commentary by Andreyev]

[Text] Nearly two years have passed since Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's last visit to Japan in December 1988, when Japan was under the administration of the Takeshita cabinet. I would like to review briefly what has actually happened in political relations between the Soviet Union and Japan during this two-year period.

First of all, the dialogue between our nations, which used to be deadlocked, has been substantially activated and promoted. Over a considerably short period, five sessions were held by the working group on the peace treaty, which was organized for the first time; four rounds of consultations at the vice foreign ministerial level were held; and two consultations were held between foreign ministers of our two nations—once during Foreign Minister Uno's visit to Moscow in April-May 1989 and then during the UN General Assembly session held later in New York.

Moreover, as proof of the remarkable development in overall relations between our two nations during this year alone, we can point out that leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party, such as Yasuhiro Nakasone and Shintaro Abe, a Diet delegation led by Yoshio Sakurauchi, and President Daisaku Ikeda of the Sokka Gakkai have visited the Soviet Union and held talks with President Gorbachev. All these talks were held in a very frank and friendly atmosphere and have enabled the two sides to further understand each other's positions on various issues and to work out future plans for promoting mutually beneficial cooperation. All these talks were political dialogues, and the more frequently such dialogues are held, the greater chances and hopes there will be for immediate settlement of existing problems.

However, it is quite natural that the following questions will be brought up: What on earth are the details and effects of such talks? Have definite advances, comparable to improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the other Western nations, including the United States, been made? If not, rosy prospects for Soviet- Japanese relations—we have been describing the current bilateral atmosphere as rosy—would be discolored.

I do not want to touch on all the things causing our talks to fall considerably behind those of the Soviet Union and other nations. I will point out only one fact: The longer the Soviet Union and Japan go without a peace treaty, the more serious this lag in the development of talks will become. It is certainly an anachronism that no peace treaty has been concluded even 45 years after the end of the last war. It is also one of the major reasons why the current situation in bilateral relations does not conform to the potentials, interests, and responsibilities of our two nations in the international community.

What reasons and hopes are there for us to take an optimistic view of the future? I think they lie in Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's remarks during his last visit to Japan. He said problem no should remain unsettled as long as there is hope for settlement. I would like to add that in addition to hope, we must demonstrate our intention to seek new ways to solve problems through mutual concessions.

At any rate, we hope that Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's upcoming visit to Japan will not end up once again as a round of talks on only the territorial issue but that, to quote an expression published in NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, it will be a breakthrough in Soviet-Japanese relations and create a favorable atmosphere for President Gorbachev's visit to Japan next year.

Shevardnadze's Far East Visit Examined

OW0209223990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Listeners, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's tour of the Far East, which began on Saturday, has become an important international event. The first phase of his visit took him to Harbin, where he had talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The Soviet foreign minister will visit Pyongyang from Sunday to Monday, before returning to Vladivostok on Tuesday to deliver a speech at an international conference on dialogue, peace, and cooperation in the Asia and Pacific Region. After this he will travel to Japan for a three-visit.

According to a report, the main issue discussed at the talks in Harbin was the crisis in the Gulf region. Both Moscow and Beijing support the UN Security Council resolution on sanctions against Iraq. Both sides also stand for the solution of this conflict through political means. The two countries have expressed concern over the expansion of military strength in this crisis.

The talks in Harbin also touched on prospects for a solution of the Cambodian issue, as well as the situations in the Asia and Pacific Region and Europe. Both sides also exchanged views on the question of easing military tension in Soviet-Chinese border areas. Negotiations relating to this question will be held in Moscow on 10 September.

According to a report, the main purpose of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Korea is to discuss the situation on the Korean peninsula under circumstances brought about by negotiations between the North and the South as well as the urgent questions concerning contacts between the two sides. It is worth noting that, on the eve of the Soviet foreign minister's visit, Pyongyang put forward a proposal suggesting that both South Korea and North Korea join the United Nations under the principle of "one seat, two representatives." (?Economic) dialogue between the Soviet Union and South Korea may also have an impact on the course of the Pyongyang talks.

After making a speech in Vladivostok, the Soviet foreign minister will leave for Tokyo. At the international conference in Vladivostok, he will expound on Soviet foreign policy for the Asia and Pacific Region. International observers will pay special attention to his speech.

The Soviet foreign minister's talks in Japan will be of great significance for the future political situation of this region. During his stay in that country, Shevardnadze's main task will be to make arrangements for the visit by Soviet President Gorbachev, who said in Moscow on Friday that he might visit next spring. The principal issue between the two countries remains the so-called question of the northern territories. Moscow is willing to discuss this issue on the condition that it be only one of the general issues concerning ties between the two sides. Gorbachev said in Moscow that we are willing to discuss any issue. Earlier, Tokyo had said that the prerequisite for a basic improvement in bilateral relations is the return of the so-called northern territories, namely, the four islands among the Kuril Islands. It is reported that Japan is willing not to make this issue the main one. Anyway, dialogue is continuing. Following Shevardnadze's visit to Tokyo, his Japanese counterpart will visit Moscow. This news was announced on Friday by a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Gorbachev Expected To Visit Japan Next Year

New Level of Cooperation Seen

LD3108175190 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev, Andrey Orlov, and Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev told a news conference here today tha he might visit Japan next spring.

Replying to a Japanese corespondent, Gorbachev added that in his view, "the time is coming for the trip to Japan." Both sides, Gorbachev said, "display interest in imparting new dynamism and raising cooperation between the two neighbouring states at a new level."

As for the possible new Soviet proposals on the territorial issue, the USSR "is open to discussions of any issues." "Let's limit ourselves to this so far," the president added with a smile.

Bid To Resolve Kuril Dispute

OW0409033290 Tokyo KYODO in English 0238 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, September 3 KYODO—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will make a major proposal aimed at solving a decades-long dispute over a group of Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido in northern Japan when he visits Tokyo next year, a Communist Party Politburo member indicated Monday.

The president will carry with him "something historic" when he visits Japan in the spring of 1991, Ivan Frolov said in a meeting with a group of Japanese journalists.

Frolov also said Gorbachev is strongly committed to completely normalizing Soviet-Japanese ties by solving the territorial issue.

"The upcoming visit by the president is not a routine one and a significant decision is expected," said Frolov, who also serves as the chief editor of the communist party newspaper PRAVDA.

Japan has called for the return of three islands and a group of isles located to the northeast of Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost main island, which were occupied by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II.

The Soviet Union, which declared war against Japan in the closing days of the war, seized Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomais immediately after Japan's surrender to the allied powers in August 1945.

Japan holds that the former Japanese islands are not part of the Kuril chain that Japan signed away in the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty.

Frolov contended that it is only a one-sided view to narrowly concentrate the bilateral topics on the territorial issue.

The matter should be addressed in the whole context of the bilateral relationship which includes a lot of difficult problems, he said.

On the "five-phase solution" proposal on the isles dispute already raised by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, Frolov said Gorbachev has his own ideas on the question.

The styles of Gorbachev and Yeltsin are different, he said.

Yeltsin proposed making the islands into a demilitarized zone for bilateral joint ventures over the next two decades step by step before their possible future return to Japan.

Mongolian Parliamentary Session Opens 3 Sep

New Candidates Considered

LD0309033990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0234 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Kim Boldokhonov and Dugar Sanzhiyev]

[Text] Ulaanbataar, 3 Sep (TASS)—The first session of the twelfth People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic opened here today. The deputies of the supreme body of state power, elected for the first time from a choice of candidates and parties, are to form a small hural—a permanent parliament—elect the country's first president, and ratify the new composition of the government.

The session was opened by Gurragchaa Jugderdemidiyn, chairman of the territorial (central) electoral commission, Mongolian pilot cosmonaut, deputy of the Mongolian People's Great Hural.

New Chairman Elected

LD0309041990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0327 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 3 Sep (TASS)—The first session of the Peoples Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic has elected its chairman on an open vote. This is Jambyn Gombojav, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) member. He was elected deputy to the supreme body of state power in the country from constituency No. 326 in Tsentralnyy [TOV] Aymag, where he was chairman of the People's Hural Presidium.

After a short discussion on the number of his deputies, during which the deputies used the "free" microphones set up in the hall, an open vote was taken. As a result, from the five candidates, the following were elected deputy chairmen of the Mongolian People's Great Hural: Tsohiogyyn Adyasuren, a lecturer at Mongolian State University and a member of the Social Democratic Party; Luvsandambyn Dashnyam, head of the sector of the Mongolian State Committee for Technical Progress and Standardization, member of the National Progress party; Oydovyn Dolgorsuren, non-party, cattle-breeder of the agricultural association "Shine Tsetserleg" in Dzavhan Aymag; and Hylyshyyn Huzkey, MPRP member, doctor from Tsengel Somon, Bayan Olgiy Aymag.

Then deputy J. Gurragchaa, chairman of the territorial (central) electoral commission, delivered a report on the results of the elections at the session.

First President Elected

LD0309150690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] The first day of work of the Mongolian People's Great Hural ended late this evening with the election of the first president in the country's history. As a result of a secret vote, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat was elected to the post. He is 48 years old, and has been a member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party since 1965. In March this year he was elected chairman of the Presidium of the Mongolian People's Great Hural.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev's Reaction to Gulf Events Noted

Calls For 'Restraint'

LD3108181890 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Boris Zverev, Andrey Orlov, and Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The Soviet Union's desire to find a political solution to the crisis created by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was reiterated again by President Gorbachev today. Speaking at a press conference here, he stressed that in the settlement of this conflict "everybody should display resolve, firmness and restraint".

Responding to questions, the president pointed out that the Soviet Union could not agree with the annexation of Kuwait. "It is unacceptable for us in principle," he said.

Gorbachev denounced Iraqi actions and said that they "ignite the situation and introduce a very dangerous element into it".

Pointing to the importance of taking advantage of all the opportunities for "not allowing the conflict to reach a dangerous phase," Gorbachev stressed the role that the Arab countries could play. "We should try to find keys to a peaceful settlement of this acute international conflict through using the Arab factor," the president said.

Speaking about the U.S. military presence in the Middle East, Gorbachev pointed out that when responding to the appeal of Saudi Arabia, the U.S. acted in accordance with the U.N. Charter. He said that "the build-up of military confrontation is always fraught with unpredictable consequences", and called attention to the need for a responsible approach "in order to prevent a large-scale military conflict".

Interviewed on Use of Force

PM0109141790 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 35, 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Specially for MN": "Gorbachev: 'We Are Using All Opportunities'"]

[Text] At the request of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev granted an interview to Michel Gonod, deputy chief editor of the magazine PARIS MATCH, for a special September issue of the weekly in French and Russian, which the magazine's editorial board is preparing in cooperation with our newspaper and which will appear as a supplement to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. Today MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI publishes the USSR president's replies in connection with the crisis in the Near East.

[Gonod] A topical question: Are you concerned about what is now happening in the Persian Gulf?

[Gorbachev] I think we must do all we can to prevent the crisis from moving into another, more acute phase. Even in domestic experience in the course of perestroyka, I have often encountered situations where it has seemed: Maybe we should take stricter measures so as not to be accused of weakness (such accusations have been made against the president)? But in the course of perestroyka we have always sought to avoid a split or confrontation in society. We have always relied on political methods.

In international affairs too, we should not take the most extreme measures for the sake of prestige. That would be a shortsighted policy. We must cooperate in seeking collective approaches and ways to resolve matters in order to normalize the situation.

[Gonod] Do you believe that all political means have been exhausted?

[Gorbachev] No. I believe we must continue cooperating within the UN framework and actively collaborating with Arab countries—they can and must play their role.

Both the Soviet Union and France also have such opportunities in their contacts with the present Iraqi regime. We do not shirk our responsibility, and we are using all our opportunities.

Shevardnadze, Libyan Counterpart Discuss Gulf

LD0309185790 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Libyan counterpart, Jadallah 'Azzuz Al-Talhi, exchanged congratulatory telegrams on the occasion of 35th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Libya.

The Soviet side noted that joint efforts of all countries, small and big, are needed in the present period of deep-going changes in the world to make irreversible the emerging turn by the international community to peace, development and the [words indistinct] of the right to a free choice for every nation.

The Libyan side favoured the permanent exchange of opinions between the two countries, taking into account the difficult political and economic situation in the world, to coordinate positions on issues of mutual interest. The sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the present level of bilateral relations and (?hoped) for their all-round development for the good of the Soviet and Libyan peoples.

Foreign Ministry Chastises U.S. Deployment

AU0309150390 Paris AFP in English 1419 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 3 (AFP)—The growing deployment of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia is helping Iraq win support in the region, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov said here Monday [3 September].

"Paradoxically, their presence is helping Saddam Husayn form an anti-American bloc," the spokesman told a press briefing.

He added that "some people tend to forget that everything started with the invasion of Kuwait and the flouting of all the principles of international law" and that the U.S. military was in Saudi Arabia at the request of the Saudis.

But in the region "they are talking of American aggression and saying that Arabs must unite to defend the holy sites of Islam, oil and other things", he said.

Speaking of a call by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for a "surgical strike" against Iraq, Mr. Gerasimov said this was not advisable since "the scalpel can turn into a club and have a boomerang effect".

"Our official position (on the Iraq invasion of Kuwait) remains that Iraq must conform to the demands of the international community and act according to the resolutions of the (U.N.) security council," he said.

The Soviet spokesman said the meeting between presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev at Helsinki next weekend would deal with the Gulf crisis, along with such other topics as German reunification. He stressed that the two presidents were to hold a "working meeting" rather than a summit, with no fixed agenda.

Mr. Gerasimov said British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd would stay in Moscow on September 13 and 14 following the "two-plus-four" meeting on German unification, for talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The two men would focus on the Gulf, and the European reaction to German unification, he said.

UN Secretary General Sees Iraqi Foreign Minister

'Dialogue, Peaceful Means' Sought

LD3108171290 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Marunin]

[Text] Amman August 31 TASS—The second meeting between U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz was held here today. Just like the first meeting, which began this afternoon and lasted for over two hours, it was a one-to-one session.

The two men are discussing ways to normalise the situation in the Gulf by peaceful means, through dialogue and talks between the opposing sides.

Disappointed by Inflexibility

LD0209211490 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krivykh]

[Text] Paris September 3 TASS—"Iraq does not wish to withdraw its troops from Kuwait, and this is unacceptable for the world community," U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said after holding talks with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas here on Sunday.

He told TASS that Baghdad believes that the release of 700 women and children is enough. However, the world community demands the release of the remaining citizens of other countries, detained in Iraq and Kuwait against their will.

Commenting on the results of his meetings with Iraqi Foreign Minster Tariq 'Aziz, Perez de Cuellar said that he was deeply disappointed, because he had expected flexibility from the Iraqi side which, in his opinion, could make it possible to begin working out a peaceful and just settlement of the crisis in the Gulf area. Perez de Cuellar expressed readiness to meet with the Iraqi leadership and said that he was not losing hope.

Roland Dumas stressed, on his part, the importance of the conversation with the U.N. secretary-general, who came to Paris from Amman after talks with the Iraqi foreign minister. Although the trip to Amman was not very fruitful, it could still be described as useful, Dumas said.

Iraqi Embassy Cites U.S. Media's Gulf Reports

PM3108183990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

["Letter From the Iraqi Embassy" under the rubric "From the International Desks' Mailbag"]

[Text] The Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in Moscow greets you and wishes your newspaper further prosperity and success.

We would like to draw your attention to an article reprinted in your newspaper from the U.S. TIME magazine (IZVESTIYA No. 230).

This article is a gross insult to the Iraqi leader Mr. Saddam Husayn.

Frankly speaking, we are not suprised at TIME magazine publishing malicious articles of this kind since it is part of U.S. and Western mass media which are, to varying degrees, under the influence of Zionism.

However, we were surprised that a newspaper which enjoys the respect and trust of its readership has permitted itself to reprint from unobjective news media slanderous fabrications discrediting the Iraqi leader Saddam Husayn. In actual fact, Mr. Saddam Husayn is the target of a frenzied armed campaign launched by the United States and its allies in the West and in the region.

We would also like to draw your attention to the fact that the true reasons for this U.S. campaign are not "the defense of the rule of international law and international rights" in our region, since the jackboots of U.S. soldiers are trampling underfoot these rights and laws in other parts of the world.

The true reason is America's desire to establish control over this region and its petroleum resources and to use force in order to subjugate any Arab country which conducts a truly free and independent policy and opposes U.S.-Zionist provocations.

And because Iraq conducts precisely such an independent policy, it has become the target of threats by the Army and warships of the United States and its allies which have invaded the Arab waters against the will of the Arab people.

[Signed]Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in Moscow.

Kuwaiti Ministers React to Persian Gulf Crisis

Minister of State Interviewed

PM0109190190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Awadi, Kuwaiti minister of state for cabinet affairs, by special correspondent A. Shumilin in Cairo, under the rubric "Only for KP"; date not given: "Kuwait: Government in Exile"]

[Text] Cairo—It is practically impossible nowadays to make your way to the upper floors of Cairo's smart Semiramis Hotel without prior arrangement. They house members of the delegations from countries participating in the conference of the Arab League Foreign Ministers Council taking place in Cairo. The security measures are very stringent: Under the conditions of the present exacerbation of inter-Arab contradictions, sabotage attempts for the purpose of hampering the conference's work must not be ruled out.

And yet, despite his overloaded work schedule, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Awadi, Kuwaiti minister of state for cabinet affairs, received KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent for an interview. He said that this was the only opportunity to express, through a popular newspaper, gratitude to the USSR leadership and to all Soviet people for our country's principled and honest stand on the Iraqi aggression.

"For us this aggression is all the more tragic," 'A. al-Awadi said, "because it comes from a country which we invariably thought fraternal. Iraq has now not only occupied but also, on farfetched pretexts, annexed Kuwait—a sovereign country whose statehood was formed before Iraq's. The annexation and occupation are accompanied by the cruelty and arbitrariness of Iraqi soldiers: Every day they kill Kuwaiti citizens, rob their homes, and arrest and torture people. Of course, only a regime devoid of a concept of moral and human values can act like this. State establishments and citizens' property—everything has been put up for plunder by the Iraqi military authorities.

"Under these conditions a movement of resistance to the Iraqi aggressors emerged and began to spread in Kuwait from the very first days of the occupation. Young people constituted its basis. This phenomenon is all the more significant because the Kuwaitis have never fought in practice and do not have the corresponding experience. We are now taking measures to strengthen the resistance detachments, whose task is to deprive the Iraqi occupiers of calm on the soil of Kuwait.

"This is internal resistance. But many Kuwaitis are now in various countries. And we are making efforts to unite them and to mobilize the potential of young people above all to repulse the occupiers."

[Shumilin] Have all the members of the Kuwaiti Government succeeded in evading arrest by the occupiers?

[Al-'Awadi] Yes, glory be to Allah, all the ministers escaped. The last of them, the minister of education, got out of Kuwait four days ago.

[Shumilin] How did you yourself manage to escape?

[Al-'Awadi] Fortunately, I was in Cairo at that time, participating in the work of the conference of Islamic states' foreign ministers.

[Shumilin] How does the Kuwaiti Government work in exile?

[Al-'Awadi] Most of the ministers are in Riyadh. The government meets for sessions every day. Special government commissions have been set up on many issues. A number of ministers are outside Saudi Arabia—in Cairo, London, Paris. There are ministers performing special missions—making contact with governments of various countries and enlisting their support for Kuwait's position. These are so-called "mobile ministers." Constant communications are maintained among all members of the cabinet.

[Shumilin] What, in your view, might be the formula for settling the Kuwaiti problem?

[Al-'Awadi] I believe that the solution must be found, above all, within the framework of inter-Arab efforts. Of course, international efforts are needed too, above all on the part of Islamic states, so as to avoid an outbreak of war. Regretfully I must say that S. Husayn's regime will not obey the decisions of Arab states. In addition, the disagreements and contradictions among Arab countries as a consequence of the aggression (for certain countries even agree with Baghdad's actions)—all this has introduced a split into the Arabs' ranks and has complicated to the extreme the elaboration of a pan-Arab position and the search for a solution.

The majority of Arab states are on Kuwait's side, condemn the aggression, and demand the withdrawal of Iraqi troops and the return of the legitimate government to Kuwait. The United Nations has taken the same stand. The talks which UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar is holding in Amman during these days are very useful. All these efforts, including—and this is very important—the just stand of the Soviet Union, must make the Baghdad leaders see reason. Of course, a military solution to the problem must not be ruled out as an extreme method, but this is "surgical treatment of the disease." It spells tremendous devastation and human suffering. Reason cannot agree to such a thing.

[Shumilin] Let us hope that the problem will be resolved by peaceful means. In this case will the Kuwaiti Government advance demands for the damage done to be compensated? What, for example, are the sums stolen by the Iraqis from Kuwaiti banks?

[Al-'Awadi] First of all, of course, a settlement is needed. As regards compensation for the damage, of course we will demand it. Incidentally, many countries of the world have the right to make similar claims on Iraq—not only Kuwait. Egyptian and Palestinian workers, for example, kept their money in Kuwaiti banks. According to current estimates, the sums of bank deposits alone on the eve of the aggression were of the order of $10 billion. The harm done to the country's economy and trade is tremendous.

Education Minister on Military Aims

LD0409135490 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] After the failure of the talks in Amman between Iraq and United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, the Kuwaiti foreign minister, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, said he expected the big powers to take new measures against Iraq under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. This article permits military action. Even before the Kuwaiti foreign minister said this, Nikolay Gorshkov of our staff had discussed this terrifying option on the phone with Ali al-Shamlan, the Kuwaiti minister for higher education, now in Taif, Saudi Arabia.

[Begin recording] [Al-Shamlan, in English] Our country has been invaded and it is being looted and disbanded. We don't really care how it is done, but what we are waiting for is the international community to play its role to liberate our country, to implement United Nations Security Council's resolution 660. How they do it, it is up to the international community, but I think waiting for the Kuwaitis, it's not an easy thing to do as we see our country being looted and our citizens being killed and disbanded. The whole country is being disbanded. So clearly it's up to the international community to put its act together and do something about its international outlook.

[Gorshkov] The REUTERS, the news agency, has quoted on of your ministers, particularly Oil Minister Rashid Salim al-Amiri....

[Al-Shamlan] Yes.

[Gorshkov] ...As saying in Singapore that the international community should not allow the crisis to drag on for longer than two weeks, otherwise he would though [as heard] there'll be a military action, but you may well understand that in case of any military action the first to suffer will be Kuwait again.

[Al-Shamlan] Kuwait is already being effected.

[Gorshkov] Yes, but if Iraq uses chemical weapons, the Kuwaiti territory may be rendered absolutely unsuitable for life for decades.

[Al-Shamlan] Well, we think it is up to the international community whether to allow Iraq to use chemical weapons or not, but when we go back and speak about Kuwait being affected, or going to be affected by war in the area, Kuwait is—the whole country is under occupation now and it is being disbanded, disintegrated. [Word indistinct] our people are imprisoned in their own country, they cannot leave. They have no connections whatsoever with the outside world. So what's worse than that could happen to Kuwait?

[Gorskov] So, to sum it all up, I think one of the biggest questions now, one of the crucial questions is, whether there is war or whether there is no war and there is a diplomatic solution, what is really the Kuwaiti Government's expectations? How do you think this will all end up?

[Al-Shamlan] Well, we—definitely we're going to liberate our country and definitely we'll do it with the help of the international community. Our friends all over the world—and thank God that Kuwait has many good friends, especially at the Security Council—we have had excellent relations and friendship with all the five permanent members of the Security Council and with the rest of the United Nations community, and we will liberate our country, no matter what it takes and no matter how long it takes, with the help of the international community. [end recording]

Navy To Operate in Gulf Only 'Under UN Flag'

PM0109155990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Reader's letter, followed by "Answer Received from the USSR Foreign Ministry," under the rubric: "From Competent Sources": "Only Under the UN Flag"—first two paragraphs are a reader's letter]

[Text] Will the USSR Navy be drawn into participation in the multinational forces which have been tasked with implementing UN Security Council Resolution 665 (on the use of military force to ensure the economic blockade of Iraq)?

K. Chitalin, Moscow.

The aforementioned resolution makes no provision for the creation of any naval or other UN formation. The opportunity to apply military force has been left to "UN member states cooperating with the government of Kuwait and deploying naval forces in the region." It is well known that the USSR has not deployed its naval forces in the Persian Gulf region.

Should a UN troop or naval contingent be formed in the region, the USSR is prepared in principle to assign naval forces to it, but only for operations under the UN flag.

The answer was received from the USSR Foreign Ministry.

NATO Official Praises Soviet Gulf Policy

90P50078 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by TRUD correspondent V. Boykov: "Also Hostages?"]

[Text] How does NATO evaluate the USSR position regarding Iraq's aggression against Kuwait? Discussing this theme with a group of Western journalists, a highly-placed representative of the North Atlantic alliance, who wished to remain anonymous, said that Moscow is acting "like a good citizen of the planet." The USSR, he noted, has helped the international isolation of the aggressor and, having accepted the UN trade embargo fo Iraq, has met with unavoidable financial and other losses.

According to evaluations by NATO analysts, the highly-placed source emphasized, the Soviet Union is by no means acting only so as not to harm its political and economic relations with the West. Nor is there some kind of super-secret plant, for example, to strengthen their political influence in a number of Arab countries whose populations are unhappy with the buildup in the Persian Gulf of the military power of the U.S. and its allies. Judging from everything, "the Soviet strategists are firmly convinced that Iraq's attack on Kuwait is a dangerous move which could lead to destabilization of the whole region."

Regarding the account of a Brussels corresondent for the American newspaper THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE the Atlantic source said: "Official Soviet representatives informed the Western governments that Moscow is facing untold difficulties, standing in the way of withdrawing its military advisors and technical specialists from Iraq." If this corresponds to reality is one to understand that Iraq simply will not let our specialists go? In such a situation the matter takes a different turn. We are talking not about "breaking the UN sanctions" as the fact of the presence of our specialists is looked at by some Western publications, but about hostages of Baghdad, just like all the others.

The question of why the Soviet specialists are continuing to remain in Iraq interests not only NATO, but the world public as well.

PLO Envoy Views Intervention in Gulf Conflict

PM0309121590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Nabil 'Amr, Palestinian ambassador to USSR, by V. Afanasyev and A. Alekseyev; place and date not given: "Toward a Balance Not of Forces, But of Interests. Nabil 'Amr, Ambassador of the State of Palestine to the USSR, Answers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's Questions"]

[Text] [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] How do you see the further development of the situation in the Persian Gulf region? In your opinion, what measures could be taken to prevent a major military conflict in this region, which could flare up any day?

['Amr] At present the situation in the Gulf region is deteriorating sharply because of the buildup of the might of the United States and its allies. I would not like to analyze the state of Iraqi-Kuwaiti relations at the moment. It is something else that is important. Today we have come up against foreign interference, and the Arab world is split as a result. Some people believe that this presence is temporary, while others say that it is long-term. But what the broad people's masses in the Arab countries are unanimous about is that they reject foreign interference. We Arabs are particularly worried by the might of the most modern weapons with which the foreign troops are equipped and by the danger that they may be used in this generally small region. Today it can be said with every justification that if the conflict assumes the form of a military clash, it may lead to the emergence of another world war.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] A few days ago Yasir 'Arafat and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn elaborated a joint formula for settling the crisis within the framework of the Arab states. It was stated that this formula envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the crisis region, the attainment of full unity among the Arab nations, and the subsequent solution of the Palestinian question. Could you describe in more detail the essence of this accord?

['Amr] The PLO and Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, are carefully following the development of the situation in the Gulf and are doing everything to prevent the outbreak of armed actions and to resolve the Iraqi-Kuwaiti problem and the entire complex of associated questions by political means. I would not like to go into details of 'Arafat's recent initiative, but it should be stressed that it is connected, in particular, with the holding of broad consultations in both the Arab and international arenas. The most important point is the need to resolve this crisis through the efforts of the Arabs themselves and to prevent it from developing into a direct military conflict. If you add to our president's initiative the vigorous actions of King Husayn of Jordan and the leaders of Yemen and Sudan, it can be said that all these joint efforts are a substantial step toward conciliation in the Gulf region.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] What is your assessment of the USSR's position on resolving the conflict?

['Amr] Its efforts are certainly directed toward the difficult quest for a balanced way out of the situation that has been created. After all, the Soviet Union has good relations with all parties involved in the conflict. So right from the start Moscow has taken vigorous action to prevent a military clash, which has been greatly appreciated by the world community. The Soviet Union has tried to the best of its ability to prevent implementation of the American idea of using the U.S. Armed Forces under cover of the UN flag and has tried to resolve all questions within the framework of that prestigious international organization.

A very important point is that Moscow constantly points to the need for a Arab way of resolving the crisis. All these positive aspects of the Soviet position lend additional prestige to the USSR.

I would like to stress that your country does not have mercenary imperial interests either in the Gulf region or in the Near East as a whole. In its policy it is not guided by egotistical considerations, which is why its voice is so attentively heeded throughout the Arab world. And we would like the Soviet Union to continue its efforts aimed at localizing the conflict and at preventing a devastating war. We expect the Soviet Union to continue to play the role of mediator in resolving the existing crisis. This is all the more important in that the Iraqi leadership is prepared to listen to good advice from Moscow.

I would also like to make some general points about how this conflict is being covered in the Soviet mass media. I note that some newspapers, radio, and television are now fueling passions and there is almost no considered and calm analysis of the real situation. I would like to express the hope that my Soviet colleagues (I, too, am a journalist) will not use facts only from one source. Now is a time of glasnost in the Soviet Union. But glasnost does not mean seeing what is happening only from one viewpoint. Who is preventing Soviet journalists from traveling to the region of the events and seeing everything with their own eyes? There must be no prejudiced approach. Yes, what happened between Iraq and Kuwait is indeed sad and regrettable. But today the problem is seen more acutely. We are considerably more worried by the foreign presence in the Gulf. But unfortunately this factor sometimes remains outside the scope of the published material, as it were.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The introduction of Iraqi troops into Kuwait, the appearance of foreign warships in the Gulf, the growth of extremism and anti-Arab feeling in Israel in the last month—how do you think that all this may affect the Palestinian uprising (intifadah), which has been blazing for almost 1,000 days on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories?

['Amr] First of all the intensification of extremism in Israel regarding the Palestinians should come as no surprise. Such things have repeatedly happened in the past. Essentially the extremism has never stopped. And now we are viewing the intifadah through fresh eyes, as it were. The intifadah can in no way be separated from the events taking place in the Gulf, just as the problems of Palestine cannot be separated from the problems of Lebanon, for instance, because all this is taking place in the same region. Arabs suffering because the Near East conflict is unsolved live in both places. But the United States is seeking to isolate the Gulf problem from the whole complex of the region's problems. We are paying a high price for all this. Look how events are developing. The situation deteriorates in Palestine, then in Lebanon, then in the Gulf, then in Palestine again—and the circuit is complete. Our region's problems are interconnected.

But what do you see when you sit in front of the television in Moscow? Events in the Gulf have totally overshadowed the course of the intifadah. A pity! If the world wants to find a solution to any part of the problems of our region, it must seek a comprehensive approach toward them. The whole world can now see that the United States is endeavoring with enviable determination to implement the UN Security Council resolution on the Gulf. But where is its resolve when it comes to Resolution 242 on Palestine? Yes, the United States says that the situation is fundamentally different and that Israel is its ally. But what about justice! Why do the Americans turn a blind eye to Israel's crimes in the name of their own interests and focus attention on something else? The resolution of any problem must be approached from the viewpoint of genuine justice and international law.

Some people are now saying: Let Iraq withdraw its troops from Kuwait, and in exchange Israel must withdraw from Jerusalem. At the present stage such an approach is illogical from the political viewpoint. For it may be a question of resolving all the problems of the Near East comprehensively, on a just basis, in the light of the legitimate interests of all the interested parties. And you cannot resolve anything by force here. For three years force has been unable to smash the intifadah, and now all America's military might is incapable of solving the Gulf problem. I totally agree with what USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said during his meeting with his French counterpart Roland Dumas when he stressed the need to convene an international conference on the Near East precisely in the present conditions. There is no other way out. The only alternative to it can be nuclear, chemical, biological war with all the ensuing terrible consequences.

Iraqi Group Said To Offer To Assassinate Saddam

LD0309093190 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Cairo September 3 TASS—The Iraqi opposition Free Officers Organisation has voiced its readiness to assassinate President Saddam Husayn and "free the Iraqi people from this madman, who is moving towards a world war".

The newspaper AL-WAFD reports today that the organisation published a statement claiming that a large number of Iraqi Army servicemen are unhappy with Husayn. Iraqi officers do not want to have anything in common with a criminal offending brother Arabs, the document reads.

CIA Plan To 'Eliminate' Saddam Unconfirmed

LD0309145690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Announcer-read report from the "Television Service" program]

[Text] A report was published in the U.S. press a number of hours ago about the fact that the CIA is planning action to eliminate Iraqi President Saddam Husayn. Saudi Arabia is participating in the financing of the operation. Well, the report has not yet been confirmed.

Evacuation of Soviet Citizens From Iraq Continues

'Nearing Completion'

LD0109123690 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The evacuation of Soviet nationals from Iraq, which are to depart in the first place, is nearing completion, the Soviet Foreign Ministry reports.

A total of 941 people, including 274 children and 506 women, have left Iraq by September 1.

The fourth group comprising 63 Soviet women is preparing to return to the Soviet Union. They are to arrive in Moscow by an Aeroflot on September 3.

4th Group Leaves

LD0209141690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1345 GMT on 2 September transmits a service message annulling this item.]

[Text] Moscow, 2 September, TASS correspondent reports—A TASS correspondent was informed in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it is planned to despatch the fourth group of people being evacuated from Iraq, today, on an Aeroflot flight from Baghdad to Moscow. There are approximately 90 people in the group, including 50 women. The group's arrival at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-II airport is expected early in the morning of 3 September.

'First Stage' Completed

LD0309150890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1328 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)— The most recent group of members of families of Soviet specialists evacuated from Iraq arrived in Moscow today. To date the total number of Soviet citizens who have returned home from Kuwait and Iraq is around 2,000.

On the instruction of the USSR president in connection with the worsening situation in the Persian Gulf region an interdepartmental working group for the evacuation of Soviet citizens was set up headed by Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

When the aggression began there were 880 Soviet citizens in Kuwait and 7,830 in Iraq. After the appropriate consultations the consent of the Iraqi authorities was gained for the evacuation of Soviet people from Kuwait, but only by road through Iraq to Amman, the Jordanian capital. At the same time practical steps were taken for the evacuation of women and children from Iraq. [passage omitted]

One may say that the first stage of the evacuation of Soviet citizens from the conflict zone has been successfully concluded. However, there is continuing concern for the fate of Soviet specialists remaining in Iraq and also for the situation of around two million foreign citizens, from over 40 countries of the world who are there. The Iraqi authorities are still not fulfilling Resolution 664 of the UN Security Council which contains the demand that Iraq should allow citizens of third countries to leave immediately. Most of them are still being held as hostages. This problem must be resolved in the shortest possible time in accordance with the norms of international law and the principles of humaneness and respect for human rights.

Iraqi Chemical Arms Reportedly Stored in Sudan

LD0409110290 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] Cairo September 4 TASS—An "informed Sudanese source" has confirmed the presence of Iraqi combat aircraft, including heavy bombers, in Sudan, the newspaper AL-WAFD reports today.

Iraqi combat aircraft are located at the Sudanese air bases Khawr Teggat, 35 kilometers away from Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, Vudai Sidna [name as received] and the military part of Khartoum Airport, the source said. He said Iraqi chemical weapons are also stored there.

The source said Iraq has sent tank and missile troops and technical support units to Sudan. He noted that Iraqi combat equipment and troops were moved to Sudan before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, on August 1.

A Sudanese military contingent was sent to Iraq before the Gulf crisis, AL-WAFD writes.

Protesters in Cairo Condemn Iraqi Invasion

LD0309074290 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo September 3 TASS—More than 30,000 Kuwaitis and Egyptians, including government figures, politicians, priests and diplomats, took part in a rally here last night to condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

They demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from that country and the reinstatement of the lawful government of Kuwait.

"Saddam Husayn is mistaken in his belief that Kuwaiti people will put up with the annexation of their country. All Kuwaiti men will fight for its freedom, and Arab nations will side with us in this struggle," Kuwaiti minister of state for government affairs Al-'Awadi told the rally.

The grand mufti of Egypt, Muhamad Tantawi, also criticised the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, saying that the brunt of punishment for the misdeeds of Iraqi rulers would have to be borne by Iraq and its people.

The rally sent a solidarity message to Kuwaiti Shaykh Jabir al-Sabah and Crown Prince Sa'd al-Salim al-Sabah, expressing readiness to fight for the liberation of Kuwait and allegience to the lawful Kuwaiti regime.

Commentaries View, Assess Persian Gulf Events

Saddam's Intentions Pondered

LD0209200690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] It is not that often that we receive reports from Saudi Arabia. It is interesting, moreover, to learn about the situation in this country directly adjacent to the center of tension that has arisen since the occupation of Kuwait.

[Correspondent I. Rostovtsev] The Saudis realize how great is the danger hanging over the Kingdom. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has not left the slightest illusions regarding the warlike nature and aggressiveness of the present Iraqi regime. Who is destined to become the next victim of the marshal of Baghdad? This question worries all the inhabitants of this uneasy region. Iraqi rockets are aimed at Riyadh today. [video shows views of city.]

Nevertheless, life in the Saudi capital goes on as usual. General concern—yes there is concern, but not panic. At first sight, one can see no signs whatsoever to indicate that we are, in actual fact, in a frontline city. [video shows correspondent on street]

Your Highness, do you think that there is a chance for the crisis in the Persian Gulf zone to be settled by peaceful means?

[Unidentified Saudi official] We are making every effort now to find peaceful ways to ease this dangerous situation. This approach is in line with the principles of our foreign policy, by which the Saudi Kingdom is undeviatingly guided. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the direct threat to our existence by no means signify that military confrontation is our choice. We are forced today to engage in strengthening our defense capacity and we are doing this not only in the interests of our own security, but also in the interests of the peoples of the whole region. [video shows Rostovtsev and Saudi official seated in a room]

Future of Crisis Examined

LD0109100690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Interview with Aleksandr Kozlov, Near East specialist from the Oriental Studies Institute by an unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 1 September—live; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The events in the vicinty of the Persian Gulf continue to form the main international news. Everything that is now taking place in that explosive region indicates that the whole Arab world is entering a period of struggle, with a change in the balance of power. We have in the studio Aleksandr Kozlov, a specialists in the countries of the Near East from the Oriental Studies Institute.

[Correspondent] Good morning. Not long before the start of the present conflict, it came as rather a surprise to many that Iraq acted as an aggressor against its former ally.

[Kozlov] Indeed. [passage omitted] The cessation of active combat operations on the Iran-Iraq front posed the question of the postwar conduct of its participants. Finding itself after the war with a vast army and immense reserves of oil, Iraq began to seek a role in the Arab world and in OPEC commensurate with that military and political potential. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] I shall also add that control of Kuwait has made it possible not only to acquire the vast material wealth created during its 29 years of independent development, but also to gain new territory with large oil reserves. Can one, in some way, predict the development of events in the Persian Gulf?

[Kozlov] It seems to me that now Iraq cannot peacefully withdraw from Kuwait, since it has become deeply embedded there, incorporating Kuwait within its own composition. Iraq will strive to maintain the present situation, avoiding confrontation. It has already started to release the foreigners, although it will, apparently, retain some of the specialists as hostages in order to defend the regime, the future of which is now at stake.

Withdrawal from Kuwait would mean total political failure for it. As long as the regime is able to withstand the rigors of the blockade, it will stay in Kuwait.

However events develop, the Kuwait crisis will have a most substantial effect on the internal political evolution of Saddam Husayn's regime. Since the war against Iran, the regime has not only failed to relax its control over life in the country, but has strengthened itself totally as a regime of personal power for life, especially since a proposal for the proclamation of Saddam Husayn as president for life reached Iraq's legislative bodies not long before the occupation of Kuwait. So I think it quite likely that the occupation of Kuwait will help to keep Saddam Husayn in power in the country. A war for Kuwait involving foreign troops may have a sad ending for all who take part in such a battle.

Overview of Crisis Given

LD0309082190 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] The Iraqi authorities have arrested the East German ambassador to Kuwait and moved him to Baghdad.

According to the newspaper AL-AHRAM, the ambassador was captured as he was leaving the East German Embassy in Kuwait City. The Iraqi authorities continue the "war to stifle embassies", reports from the Kuwaiti capital reveal.

Electricity and water supplies to the majority of diplomatic missions that are still working, have been cut. Their employees are practically under house arrest and each time they leave the embassy they can be arrested.

Some 700 foreigners, mainly British and U.S. citizens, on Sunday [2 September] were taken from Iraq to Europe by two transport aircraft and a Lufthansa aircraft.

Libya has become the first country to officially reject U.N. sanctions against Iraq. Libyan leader Mu'ammar Al-Qadhdhafi described the U.N. Security Council's resolution as a "U.S. decision" and said that his country will not stop supplies to Iraq.

Britain and Oman adhered to strict observance of U.N. sanctions against Iraq and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the release of all hostages. This was stressed in a statement on the results of talks between Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id of Oman and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Hurd also visited the United Arab Emirates and Qatar, which agreed to the deployment of British troops there.

On Sunday night, an adviser to Sudanese leader 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir delivered a message on the Gulf crisis to President Saddam Husayn from al-Bashir, AL-AHRAM writes.

The Arab press speculates that the Sudanese leader's message informed Husayn of a decision to unite Sudan and Libya. Some sources say the decision was taken by Al-Qadhdhafi and Al-Bashir on Saturday.

Four more U.S. navy ships have passed through the Suez Canal heading for the Gulf, the MENA news agency reports. The new detachment includes two large landing ships, capable of carrying and landing tank units.

Economic Pressure on Iraq Urged

NC0409163790 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Commentary by Yuriy Andreyev from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] The crisis resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has now entered its fifth week, but there have been no dramatic changes in this time. This does not mean that there has been a mitigation of tension in the region. The level of confrontation has not receded and the littoral states are as much on the brink of a military conflict, with the involvement of the United States, as before.

The past few days can be termed the days of peace initiatives. These initiatives appear to follow some mathematical formula of multiplication. At the beginning of the week, the PLO presented a new program to resolve the crisis. According to experts' assessments, this program reiterated the Iraqi leader's proposals for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait on the condition that Syrian forces withdraw from Lebanon and Israeli forces withdraw from Arab areas. The Palestinian initiative was immediately labeled the voice of Saddam and did not receive much international attention.

However, the UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar's peace-seeking mission attracted enormous attention from the international community. Perez de Cuellar held two days of talks with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz in Amman, but these talks failed to produce any results. Perez de Cuellar announced that he had not been able to achieve any breakthrough in persuading Baghdad to implement the UN resolutions.

Meanwhile, according to newspaper reports, Saddam Husayn presented a new peace initiative to Arab leaders through the king of Jordan under which Iraq is prepared to withdraw its forces from Kuwait only if the al-Sabah family is removed from power, all foreign forces in the Persian Gulf are immediately and completely withdrawn, and Baghdad is given financial assistance. Mu'ammar al- Qadhdhafi also presented his own peace proposal consisting of seven conditions.

In short, diplomatic activity had reached a peak of intensity. However, the fact that there is no sign of positive developments is something else entirely. In any case, diplomacy is not a horse race; it needs time and fortitude. The vote at the UN Security Council in support of the use of minimum force to implement the UN embargoes against Iraq was a spectacular and effective success. As all will agree, this success should be built on.

It is no secret to anyone that the Iraqi economy, which is faced with food shortages and depends on imports for a large range of commodities from automobile accessories to chickens, does not have the strength to resist economic embargoes and sanctions. A system of rationing was introduced in Iraq only last Sunday. Special stores have been set up in Baghdad to distribute limited and fixed quantities of goods to consumers. To rein in an aggressor, all political and economic resources must be mustered. One should not fall prey to the temptation to start a war. Military operations will not be able to unravel the knots of the differences in the Persian Gulf, and will only result in great bloodshed in the region.

Probability of Combat Viewed

PM0309103590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition p 7

[Article by political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev under the rubric "View from Moscow": "Nuances of the Crisis"]

[Text] According to the laws of drama, the gun that appeared on stage in act one must be fired before the play ends. In the region of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia such a quantity of arms and Armed Forces—belonging to Iraq, the United States, and other countries—has now accumulated, and their buildup is constantly continuing, that if the crisis were to develop in its military logic without the sobering influence of common sense, then a tragic outcome could not be avoided. Fortunately, times are different now. There are grounds for hoping that catastrophe will be successfully averted. Although I would assess the chances as of today at 50:50.

The Kuwait crisis has become the first serious test for the international community since the end of the "cold war." Like a flash of lightning in the night it has illuminated the modern international landscape. It has shown the new and positive elements that have appeared in the world and at the same time the striking weaknesses and chronic, as yet untreated, illnesses. It has turned out that in our enlightened age, when so many speeches have been uttered and so many decisions taken proclaiming the supremacy of international law and the transition to a secure, nonviolent world, one aggressively inclined adventurist with a sufficient number of soldiers and tanks can drastically alter the course of international events and place the world on the brink of war.

But let us be fair. We cannot fail to see promising signs in the way the situation has developed since Iraq' piratical attack on Kuwait. Nearly the entire international community, with rare exceptions, has denounced the aggressor (which does not mean complete unanimity regarding measures of opposing him). For the first time the conflict in such an explosive region has not been turned, as used to happen before almost automatically, into a confrontation between East and West. Five times in the past month the UN Security Council has voted. It has denounced the aggression, introduced trade and economic sanctions against Baghdad, and decided on measures to support these sanctions. On each occasion all five permanent members of the Council, including the Soviet Union, the United States, and the PRC, voted for these resolutions. The tense military-political crisis that has been continuing for nearly a month in the Persian Gulf has brought the people of the world a mass of concerns and anxieties and new problems, but it has shown that the ideologized nature of our relations with the capitalist countries is in the past. In assessing what is happening in the world we now proceed not from "symbols of faith" but from a consideration of real interests. And what is more real and more important than halting aggression and restoring just peace?

Nonetheless.... What will happen with the gun that has appeared on the stage? Or to be more precise with the armies opposing each other and are continuing to build up their forces?

For the sake of information. In the Persian Gulf region now there is the largest concentration of manpower and military equipment since World War II, 265,000 Iraqi soldiers and officers in Kuwait and on the border with Saudi Arabia and over 130,000 men—U.S. troops and the servicemen of several Arab countries—deployed on the territory of Saudi Arabia. There are 1,200 aircraft, over 120 ships, and over 1,500 tanks in the region of possible combat operations. The numerical strength of the troops and arms is constantly increasing. It is reported from Washington that the U.S. forces in the zone of the conflict may be increased to 250,000. According to figures from the U.S. Defense Department, the cost of moving U.S. soldiers and arms to the Near East will be $2.5 billion by 30 September. A characteristic detail: The extensive relocation of U.S. armed formations to the Persian Gulf region is being effected successfully and so rapidly because, the newspapers write, it is being carried out according to a plan of action the Pentagon already had in case of the aggravation of the situation in that region.

Despite the fact that the forces opposing Iraq have a seemingly international nature, military antagonism in the region is mainly Iraqi-American. It is these two countries, for all the difference in size between their military-economic potentials, that are now the main participants in the confrontation. The United States acts under the banner of defending the victim of aggression, but of course it would be naive to suppose that, in embarking on the massive deployment of its armed forces, the United States is pursuing purely altruistic goals. Washington's real interests, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, include not only assistance to Saudi Arabia but also and above all oil, strategic considerations, and the consolidation and expansion of U.S. military presence in the region.

As for these long-standing U.S. interests in the Middle East, by his adventurist actions Saddam Husayn has not only created problems for the United States but also, it may be said, offered the United States an unexpected gift. What formerly seemed to Washington to be difficult tasks in the atmosphere of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, has been resolved without special effort: The deployment of U.S. Armed Forces on the territory of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, the enlistment of Arab subunits in combined forces with the Americans to oppose an Arab country, and the involvement in its actions in the Persian Gulf of the ships of West European countries that with a few exceptions previously opposed the use of their forces beyond the NATO region.

Western observers believe that Washington counted on the combination of the show of military strength and the measures relating to the trade embargo announced by the UN Security Council forcing Baghdad to retreat. Will this happen? If so then when? In the opinion of these same observers, months will be needed for economic sanctions to really "bite." That is too long for impatient, politically mobile America.

When the crisis developed in the Middle East Americans supported their President's actions in a nearly unanimous impulse. But as time passes fears are appearing, as are speculations regarding further steps. A recent public opinion poll conducted by NEWSWEEK showed that 80 percent of those polled prefer their country to be in no hurry to use military force but to wait and find out whether the economic and diplomatic sanctions will produce results. To all appearances among the President's closest advisers there are differences concerning the ultimate goals of the U.S. actions in the Persian Gulf. Some believe that it is not enough to restore the situation that existed before the start of Iraq's aggression; it is necessary, as they put it, to "break the backbone of Husayn's military might." Others, including B. Scowcroft, the President's national security aide, believe that the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait would be an acceptable solution of the crisis.

Only recently it seemed that matters here were proceeding toward a military outcome. U.S. newspapers wrote that the U.S. Administration would not be able to tolerate the deadlock for long, that political pressure within the country itself—the "midterm" elections are being held there in November—would force it to embark on a military solution of the crisis. In recent days signs have appeared that the tension is decreasing somewhat, that a military eruption, if it is not ruled out, is at any rate becoming more remote. There are now almost no arguments in the U.S. press to the effect that a military outcome is inevitable. We cannot fail to note that Baghdad is also beginning to maneuver politically. I have in mind S. Husayn's latest "peace initiative," reported by the Egyptian newspaper AL-WAFD. It contains what the international community is seeking—an agreement to withdraw the Iraqi occupation troops from Kuwait, although this promise is accompanied by a demand that the formerly ruling al-Sabah family be removed from power in that country.

The main thing is that diplomatic activity is increasing. The Arab countries more involved than anyone in the events, the European capitals, including Moscow, and the United nations are taking part in the search for a political solution to the crisis. These efforts have been joined by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, who has met in the Jordanian capital of Amman with Iraqi Foreign Minister T. 'Aziz.

At the same time the situation in the Persian Gulf region remains extremely dangerous. The military confrontation in which enormous masses of people and arms have been involved could of itself light the spark that would ignite an explosion. Under these conditions special caution, circumspection, and strict self-control are required from all participants in the conflict. From the political, economic, and even moral viewpoint the only acceptable course of action is collective efforts by the countries and the use of political means. A military solution to the problem would result in enormous human and material losses and a drastic aggravation of the international situation. The victims of these actions would be not only people, not only the oil refineries, but also something that at first glance seems ephemeral but is in fact very, very important—the incipient process of "humanization" of East-West relations and of international life as a whole, the detente process.

Chemical Warfare Threatened

PM0409080190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[By V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "What If There Were A 'New Hitler'?"]

[Text] Weapons of mass destruction are disgusting in their own right. But in the hands of a dictator who finds his own country too small they threaten to ignite whole regions and destroy the foundations of universal peace.

Throughout all the decades of the nuclear missile era this possibility has been depicted more theoretically than in practice. Moreover, the very existence of weapons of unprecedented destructive, deadly force was seen by many politicians, strategists, and academics as a major means to prevent large-scale conflict situations coming to a head.

Even before fierce military action flared up between Iran and Iraq in the early eighties, it had seemed that chemical and nuclear weapons were indeed fated to act as brakes on rather than detonators of a devastating conflict.

Life has made sobering amendments to these calculations. Chemical weapons were used in the Iran-Iraq hostilities—and not just once.

This came as a surprise to the world community, but it must be admitted that the community was not sufficiently aroused to effectively influence the initiator of these operations, even though the use of chemical weapons is banned by an international convention that proved its effectiveness even during World War II.

It was not because of the barbaric nature of these weapons that the Nazi leaders did not use them. By no means. It was the threat of resolute countermeasures by the anti-Hitler coalition powers that stopped Hitler and prevented the unleashing of a chemical war. Hitler and his flunkies, however, were even more enthusiastic about other means of mass destruction. As of spring 1942 the "Third Reich" started work on the atom bomb. The Fuehrer had decreed that "England will be wiped off the map" with this weapon. This was borne out by the postwar memoirs of A. Speer, who was the top overseer of the work.

The Nazis did not make an atom bomb, but they did produce missiles capable of reaching Britain. The "V-2" was unhesitatingly pressed into service as a weapon to terrorize London and other British cities.

These pages of history should not be forgotten. Today missiles have unlimited range—just as their destructive potential is limitless. That is why the spread of technology making it possible to produce large missiles has become a subject for special examination at international forums. In particular, there has been an exchange of opinions in this connection between our country and the United States.

Once again, until recently the participants in these discussions could have afforded to conduct them in an academic atmosphere free from the pressure of dramatic events in the international arena.

The lively trade in weapons, including missiles, worth many billions of dollars, rubles, francs, and Deutsche marks was no grounds for great concern, since it was thought that there were no governments or rulers in the world who were to be feared as potential violators of peace using nuclear or chemical weapons.

And even the use of chemical weapons on the Iran-Iraq front was considered something akin to a rogue episode. The agreement signed between the USSR and the United States on the destruction of chemical weapons was seen as a historical event opening up new horizons in world politics.

It undoubtedly was such a document. But a serious threat now hangs over the hopeful prospect of states' moving toward a world without chemical weapons. This threat holds out the greater danger of chemical war being unleashed on such a scale that it will overshadow the pages of history dealing with the battles of World War I. Baghdad is not denying the reports that missiles with chemical warheads have been deployed in the baking sands of the Arabian peninsula. It is pointed out that they will be used if the U.S. Armed Forces in the Gulf embark on military operations. The soldiers and U.S. Marines sent to the region are equipped with the last word in protective gear. Moreover, the U.S. press is not ruling out the possibility of a retaliatory strike by the U.S. forces.

This is a real danger for tens of thousands and perhaps millions of people. Once again the serious question arises: Why has world public opinion—which has been following events in the Gulf region with such alarm—not reacted properly to the statements from Baghdad that have pointed out and continue to point out that Iraq will use chemical weapons first? Why has the United Nations—where ways toward a political settlement of the conflict are currently being sought—not raised its voice against those rattling mass destruction weapons? It should also be said that the Soviet Government, through its UN representatives, could also—and indeed should!—not wait for the sands of the Arabian desert or the cities and villages of the region to become an arena for chemical warfare but, now before it is too late, draw the attention of governments and the public to this threat before it comes about.

There is no time to be lost. Every hour is precious.

Whatever the specific outcome of the current crisis in the Gulf, the states and governments which recognize their responsibility for international stability as members of the world community—above all, and for understandable reasons, the USSR and the United States—cannot fail to give renewed thought to the possibility of a fateful combination and marriage between mass destruction weapons and their potential or real owner, who considers himself entitled not only to brandish binary warheads but to threaten their use.

A community of more than 150 states cannot have a 100-percent guarantee that a "new Hitler" will not appear somewhere. And even if it is the ruler of a small country, by acquiring nuclear missile weapons he might attempt to blackmail states far beyond his own national borders.

This, regrettably, is no fantasy. There would be no better stimulus for a "new Hitler" than anarchy in international affairs and the breakup of multinational states into separate entities. It is easier to catch a choice fish in muddied waters. And, conversely, the firm consolidation of the foundations of peace, the safeguarding of the integrity and inviolability of existing borders, and the allocation to the United Nations of the functions of defending the peace—if necessary with the help of collective military measures—are the most reliable way to ensure that nuclear-missile and chemical weapons are not turned into tools of blackmail, if not worse.

Effect of Gulf Crisis, Pakistan on India Viewed

BK0109131990 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1300 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Ivashin]

[Text] Dear listeners. The Persian Gulf crisis and the establishment of a new government in Pakistan continue to remain the focus of Indian media attention. In this connection, our correspondent Vladimir Ivashin writes:

The Indian press is paying considerable attention to the developments in the Persian Gulf and the change of government in Pakistan. This is quite natural, because these two incidents have a direct bearing on India. But one extraordinary thing—which is a cause of specific concern for India—is that these two developments are interrelated. Thus, it is not a mere coincidence that the Gulf crisis is considered by many Indian observers as a complex problem which may pose a threat to the security of the Republic of India.

But, how are these two developments—which, geographically, occurred a long distance away from each other—interrelated and why are Indian political observers concerned? Answering this question, the Indian newspaper FINANCIAL EXPRESS writes that the real cause of concern is the possible beginning of a new era of military partnership between the United States and Pakistan, and it is through this angle that India views the Pakistani decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia as a token of its political and diplomatic support for the U.S. presence in that country. The view that the United States will pin hopes on Pakistan, considering it as its strategic partner in this region, appears to be quite logical. Since the Arab world is obviously opposed to any long-term U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf region, Pakistan can be used as the best tool to help implement Washington's policy in this region.

Meanwhile, if the mutually cooperative relationship between the United States and Pakistan is restored, it is very likely that Islamabad will once again receive U.S. sophisticated weapons and funds on a massive scale. This will further enhance the military's role inside Pakistan, which will in turn increase the military's influence on political rivalry in the country. After analyzing these developments, the Indian observers have reached the logical conclusion that the aforementioned factors might greatly reinforce the aggressive ambitions of the Pakistani Armed Forces, which will create new difficulties and hamper normalization of relations between India and Pakistan.

East Europe

GDR Minister Signs Treaty To Join Germanys

LD3108175290 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov]

[Text] Berlin August 31 TASS—A treaty on the incorporation of East Germany into the Federal Republic was signed in a ceremony at the Berlin palace here today.

For the German Democratic Republic, the document was signed by parliamentary Secretary of State Guenter Krause, for West Germany—Interior Minister Wolfgang Shaeuble.

The ceremony was attended by East Germany Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

Economic Minister Meets Albanian Counterpart

Trade Protocol Signed 31 Aug

LD3108182590 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Lyubov Dunayeva]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and Albania's Ministry for Foreign Trade today signed a protocol on cooperation, covering several trade, economic and technological projects.

The meeting, held after a 30-year break in Soviet-Albanian economic relations, covered specific projects as well as the long-term prospects for the two countries' relationship.

Representatives of Soviet and Albanian delegations have agreed to exchange by early 1991 lists of goods, interesting to both sides, to discuss the draft of an intergovernmental agreement on restoring trade links between the two countries, and to examine the construction in Albania of electric power stations and industrial facilities, including plants to process chromium and copper.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Yevgeniy Osadchuk, told TASS that several contracts had been already concluded with the Albanian side, for example, concerning the delivery to the USSR of Albanian cigarettes in exchange for chemical goods.

In addition, Albania can sell several raw materials: copper, ferrochromium, consumer goods and some foodstuffs. The Soviet side, for its part, is ready to deliver coal, coke, pig iron, rolled metal products, chemicals and cotton.

The Albanian delegation, led by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Constandin Hoxha, held talks at the Ministries of Civil Aviation and Merchant marine, the USSR State Planning Committee and USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity].

The sides agreed to sign the protocol on economic relations in 1991 and to start direct trade relations from next year.

Trade Needs Summarized

LD3109191890 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS political news analyst Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The establishment of direct trade relations between the USSR and Albania is the main result of the visit to the USSR by an Albanian economic delegation, led by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Kostandin Hoxha, the first in nearly 30 years.

The five-day visit and negotiations at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Foreign Ministry, the State Planning Committee, the Civil Aviation Ministry and other Soviet agencies have produced an agreement to restore bilateral trade exchanges later this year. This is an important step in the interests of Albania and the Soviet Union, Hoxha said.

Soviet-Albanian relations were disrupted because of an ideological dispute. However some agreements, in particular, the 1958 agreement on trade and shipping, were not denounced [as received] and served as a good basis for the successful holding of talks, which were crowned by the signing of several protocols and exchanges of draft agreements.

Trade is a road with two-way traffic. What can small Albania deliver to the huge Soviet market?

Soviet smokers may heave a sigh of relief: Albanian cigarettes are expected to hit tobacco kiosks in then near future. Cigarettes will be followed by tomato puree, brandy, wine and bitumen. According to Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Yevgeniy Osadchuk, the Soviet side was interested in purchasing copper, nickel, chromium, bauxites, some types of foodstuffs, and consumer goods.

For their part, Albanians are ready to import Soviet coking coal, rolled stock, pipes, cotton, chemical fibre, machinery and equipment. The two sides discussed ways to restructure old plants, built with Soviet technical assistance, and to build new facilities.

Hoxha expressed satisfaction over the successful completion of talks and mutual understanding with the Soviet side. Incidentally, the head of the Albanian delegation and some of its members speak Russian fluently.

It seems irrelevant [as received] that payments in Soviet-Albanian trade will be done in hard currency and at world prices, which will eliminate a cause for mutual reproaches and grievances.

Naturally, after such a long break in diplomatic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural relations both sides will have to wrest with many difficulties. Soviet and Albanian trade missions, to be opened along with embassies in Moscow and Tirana, will coordinate efforts in this direction. It is now the turn of politicians and diplomats.

'More Substantial Steps' Sought

PM0309152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by S. Mushkaterov: "USSR-Albania: We Begin To Trade"]

[Text] For the first time in the last 30 years, an Albanian economic delegation is in Moscow. The talks culminated Friday in the signing of a number of documents on questions of resuming economic cooperation between the USSR and Albania. The day before the signing the leader of the Albanian delegation—K. Hoxha, the country's deputy minister of foreign trade—and Ye. Osadchuk, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations, met with journalists to tell them about their dialogue.

After the normalization of political relations between the two countries in July of this year, the logical next step had to be the restoration of trade and economic relations. It was for this purpose, K. Hoxha said, that the delegation he heads came to Moscow. He made a high assessment of both the results and the atmosphere in which the talks were held. Agreeing with his Albanian colleague, Ye. Osadchuk admitted: Before the meeting we thought that certain problems might arise, after all, the break in the dialogue lasted 30 years, but the meeting was held in an atmosphere as though we had last met only last year. There was total mutual understanding, frankness, and trust.

Certainly, the most important accord that was reached was that on beginning direct trade between our countries. There has been nothing like that in recent years, although, in answer to a question from your correspondent, K. Hoxha and Ye. Osadchuk said that in recent years the sides have used the reexport method, that is, they have traded via third countries. The sides exchanged drafts of two intergovernmental documents: an agreement on trade, economic, and technical cooperation between the two countries, and a protocol on trade for 1991. It is planned to sign these documents later this year. There was also an exchange of lists of goods in which Albania and the USSR would like to trade. Albania can supply our country with pentlandite, bauxites, chrome concentrate, copper in various forms, and various other commodities, including foodstuffs. Finally, questions of restoring not only trade relations but also cooperation in the sphere of the modernization and construction of industrial facilities in Albania were discussed.

Journalists asked: Was the opening of trade missions discussed? The answer was in the affirmative. Work in this sphere is being carried out within the framework of resolving the question of opening embassies.

An interesting detail. It turns out that many of the treaties and agreements signed over 30 years ago have still not been denounced. One of them is the February 1958 treaty on trade and navigation between the USSR and Albania. According to Ye. Osadchuk, the sides are actively relying on it in their work today. And K. Hoxha reported that agreement has been reached between Albania and the USSR on creating under the patronage of the foreign ministries expert groups to carefully examine all the agreements that have not been denounced and to determine their future fate.

Of course, Soviet journalists took the opportunity to ask K. Hoxha to describe the changes taking place in Albania, particularly its approaches toward conducting foreign trade. He said: We always adhered to the opinion that we will trade with those who respect us and treat us without prejudice. And for many years that is how we worked. Our relations with the outside world gradually improved. Now we have trade relations with practically all countries. There is just a handful of exceptions. We are transferring our foreign trade to the principles obtaining in world practice. This year the Albanian People's Assembly has adopted decisions on creating a new economic mechanism, and we are working on this now. Recently, for instance, a law on joint ventures was adopted. There is a law on protecting investments of foreign capital. All our enterprises have the right to conduct foreign trade activity. Admittedly, at the moment things are not going all that easily, we need to accumulate experience.

But let us return to bilateral trade and economic relations. Of course, the Albanian economic delegation's visit to Moscow was in many respects for purposes of familiarization (incidentally, it held talks not only at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, but also at the State Planning Committee, the USSR Foreign Economic Bank, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, and the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet). As both deputy ministers stressed, it is necessary to evaluate the work that has been done and the proposals that have been put forward and to prepare for taking other, more substantial steps. This will probably happen in October in Tirana. Nevertheless, the first specific trade contracts have been reached, for instance on **deliveries of Albanian cigarettes to the USSR in exchange for chemical goods. Albanian tobacco products should appear on the Soviet market as early as this year.**

Bulgarian Extremists Said To Cause 'Chaos'

PM3108202990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

["CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Statement"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Highly alarming reports have come in from Bulgaria in recent days. An attack was launched against the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Central Party House, the building was ransacked, and set alight. This can only be described as an act of vandalism. The extremists' aim, an address by the BSP Supreme Council Presidium to all socialists and citizens of Bulgaria states, is to throw the country into chaos and turmoil, and ultimately into civil war.

All peoples have the right to independently choose their social system and way of life. At the same time, as a special resolution of the 28th CPSU Congress stressed, democracy is incompatible with the creation of an atmosphere of hatred and revenge, and with attempts, under various guises, to outlaw Communist Parties and social movements with a socialist orientation.

It has to be acknowledged that the natural and indispensable process of renewal is being accompanied—and not just in Bulgaria—by antisocial excesses on the part of destructive elements. This represents a real danger to the cause of freedom and human rights. Those who begin with pogroms against the champions of the socialist idea, inevitably end up doing violence to democracy as such.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat resolutely condemns all manifestations of political extremism and of moral, and especially physical, terror wherever they occur, be it abroad or in our country. Resolute rebuttal of such actions and the defense of the norms of civilized society is the duty of every true democrat, irrespective of his political persuasions.

We express comradely solidarity with the Bulgarian Socialists who, in the interests of the people, favor a peaceful, nonviolent transition to a democratic system and the consolidation of all forces seeking to ensure civic peace and national accord in the country so that radical social transformations can be implemented.

Latin America & Caribbean

Poor Care of Chernobyl Children Reported in Cuba

PM3108115990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 p 2

[Letter from Kiev "Ukrenergomontazh" Administration aide V.I. Ladyzhenko, chairman of a "Chernobyl League" primary organization, under the rubric: "Letter to Paper": "Why We Fled Paradise: This Is How the Latest Group of Chernobyl Children Was Treated in Cuba]

[Text] Much has been written and spoken about in our press and on television concerning the treatment and convalescence of Chernobyl children in Cuba. But as the popular saying has it: "Better to see once than to hear a hundred times." So, as chairman of the "Ukrenergomontazh" Administration's "Chernobyl League," I flew out to Cuba 8 July 1990 along with a group of sick children belonging to staffers of this administration selected by the Ukrainain Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Health Ministry and under the leadership of Ukrainian V.I. Lenin Kommunist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Secretary A.F. Bashko, who was in charge of the 250-strong group of children. The children were accompanied by parents with their little ones. The selection of the sick children was made by the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade L.V. Piltyay) in conjunction with Cuban doctors and the Ukrainian

SSR Health Ministry (Comrade N.A. Trofimenko). Everyone was assured that the children would be examined and treated, following which they would be moved to the seaside to recuperate, as was the case during the first group's visit.

But on our arrival in Havana we were all taken off to a young pioneer camp 40 km from the capital and accommodated in army-type huts in which each room (measuring 12 meters) contained three tow-tier bunks constructed out of tubing, instead of a mattress—a sheet of hardboard on which was an aging quilted mattress covered by gray-white sheets fraying from repeated washing, and a small pillow. Ventilation in the rooms consisted of one small table-mounted fan, and as far as air conditioning went you could only dream about it; in the tropical heat conditions the small children fell ill straightaway and were hospitalized at the pioneer camp, while the remaining children languished in their rooms suffering from the closeness of the conditions. Each tiled-floor hut-house contained a toilet doubling as shower-room and washroom; water was available only for a short time mornings and evenings, so it was necessary for everyone to manage to shower, wash, and use the toilet in time, otherwise a stench pervaded the waterless shower-rooms and washtands and the smells penetrated the sleeping quarters as well, where each sleeper was allocated 2 square meters of "living space"—with the two-tier bunks taken into account. Naturally, all this depressed the adults as well as the children.... The rooms contained no furniture; a common lobby the size of three rooms housed a small sofa and a table and chairs, with a television set in the corner. The usual army conditions, generally speaking. The dining hall was the usual army type, too.

Morning: rice, 10 grams of butter, tea, one banana.

Dinner: soya soup, navy-style noodles with meat, a glass of milk, one orange.

Supper: potatoes with fish or a small piece of meat, coffee, a piece of pineapple.

In the evening one glass of kefir each was brought to the huts. The food was monotonous; there was no abundance of fruit and vegetables. There was sufficient for the small children, but not for those who were a little bigger. It's humiliating to ask for more.

I arrived in Cuba as a member of the team for the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] accident in order to undergo examination and treatment, and, at the same time, to monitor how the children would be catered for.... I will stipulate immediately that I did not undergo any treatment there—just like, moreover, all the children too. Aside from dental treatment and tests [sdacha analizov], the main bulk of the children did not undergo any treatment. Only those who succumbed to the spartan conditions ended up in the hospital, where they received some treatment. Our leaders from the Ukrainian Ministry of Health and the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee saw all this and tried to persuade the disgruntled moms to be patient: Look, Cuba's a poor country and we must be patient.... But N.A. Trofimenko and A.F. Bashko thesmselves were housed in air-conditioned two-story huts; each had two floors to himself, and they were regularly supplied with drinks by the caseful, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and so on, which the children never saw.

I will go further: In view of the fact that many mothers with small children either ended up in the hospital or were preoccupied with concerns for their own child, they declined to keep an eye on the others who were without their parents; so that I was fulfilling the functions of an instructor-guide. I was entrusted with a 23-strong group of children whom I took to the canteen, to the sea, to the hospital for tests, and to the discotheque. The pioneer camp had neither a store nor a hairdresser's salon; no postal service operated. It was 40 km to Havana, where no one was allowed to go—so that toothpaste, cologne, not to mention drinks and fruit, nothing could be purchased for the 55-peso allowance per child.

On one occasion Fidel Castro arrived for a meeting.

If I had seen him I would not have been afraid to show him the hut where we were huddled together. It has to be said bluntly that it is sinful to organize endurance tests for Chernobyl children.

And I would ban health ministry and Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee officials from accompanying Chernobyl children and representing the interests of Chernobylites abroad; the "Chernobyl League" exists for this purpose. When I began to mention this our leaders demanded that I leave. Moreover, the paid guides from the Ukrainian Komsomol took to drinking with the Cuban translators; the children saw how they drank with them and ignored the children; the children complained to us... all of which indicates how the Ukrainian Komomol Central Committee selects its instructor-guides for foreign assignments and what these latter teach the children over there....

I left after two weeks in Cuba, my group of children being transferred to one of the merrymaking guides; another guide—comrade Zhukovskiy—was transferred to another group of children, with the guides merely changing places.

Before my departure I was approached by a group of parents who asked me to help them write a complaint requesting that they be returned home from Cuba sooner and not kept there until 10 September.

Yanayev Interviewed on Cooperation With Cuba

PY0109012090 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0030 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] We will now present a report on Soviet-Cuban cooperation during August 1990.

Press articles on relations with Cuba.

On 3 August PRAVDA published an interview with CPSU Politburo member Gennadiy Yanayev, who is in charge of international relations. During the interview Yanayev emphatically rejected all attempts by the U.S. Administration to link the development of Cuban-Soviet [as heard] economic relations with a change in the existing relations with Cuba. The high-ranking Soviet leader, who headed the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions until the 28th CPSU Congress, stated that Soviet-Cuban relations are developing in a stable manner and are characterized by the [word indistinct] of friendship and cooperation as an important step on the path to overcoming [passage indistinct].

The source indicated that the cooperation between Soviet and Cuban youth advances on different paths toward a strengthening of our traditional friendly relations. The source said, among other things, that during this month two Soviet youth delegations will visit Cuba. A delegation from the (?Moloroso University) will make a working visit while a delegation from the Communications Institute will spend a vacation in Cuba. The two institutes are located in Moscow. The goal of the university delegation is to exchange experiences with Havana university students and to visit local newspapers and other points of interest in Havana.

The other delegation plans to stay at the (?Bolabra) international camp located in an area east of Havana.

(Mila Chemilieskaya), handed a letter to GRANMA on behalf of all the mothers of children who were victims of the Chernobyl accident. In the letter (Chemilieskaya) thanks Cuban authorities for the medical assistance granted to their children in Cuba. They also expressed their gratitude to the William Soler Hospital and to all medical personnel who helped care for the children affected by the tragic accident of the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Ukraine, in 1986.

The children who are victims of the Chernobyl accident are staying at the Jose Marti Pioneers City. For two weeks the children were entertained by the Soviet music group Granada who together with two members of the children music group Granadita offered them more than 20 concerts. Tatiana Vladimiskaya, the art director of the group, told reporters upon her return to Moscow that the group had the opportunity to learn how to use different instruments and that this encouraged their creative activity.

On 14 and 26 August GRANMA praised the shows presented by the Soviet groups, the work of which is plainly philanthropic.

Cuban Fuel Rationing Blamed on Soviet Union

90P50080 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Interruption in Petroleum Products"]

[Text] Havana, 30 (TASS). A driver, pushing his automobile to move it into a long line at the filling station is a typical sight these days in the Cuban capital. While in line for gas the Cubans make gloomy predictions about how long this situation will last. It is connected, people are generally convinced, to the shortfall in deliveries of petroleum products from the Soviet Union. They do not know, as a rule, that in the USSR thousands of combines are standing idle due to a shortage of fuel.

The Cuban authorities have explained the situation. "The Soviet Union is faced with difficulties in delivering to us the basic products which we traditionally receive from our fraternal country and whose significance for our economy and population is decisive," states the party newspaper GRANMA in a published appeal to the population. The most serious problem is the delivery shorfall in petroleum products from the USSR, which comprises some 2 million tons since the beginning of the year, the paper noted.

A number of measures of a "special character" are being enumerated, including a 50 percent limit in the supply of fuel, determined by ration cards, for official vehicles, and a 30 percent cut in the supply of fuel for personal means of transportation. All enterprises have to introduce energy conservation regimens.

Anti-Castro Cuban Exiles' Party Established

PM3108134590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Fidel Threatened With Mutiny"]

[Text] A group of emigrants has announced in Managua the formation of a so-called "Cuban Democratic Party" (PDC), whose stated aim is to overthrow Fidel Castro's government by force of arms.

At the news conference here three Cuban nationals who introduced themselves as Salvador Romani, Ignacio Castro, and Reynaldo Aquito, declared that their "military-political organization is underground and illegal," operates from Venezuelan territory, and has already sent a "large quantity of arms" over to Cuba.

In the words of the Cuban emigrants, "the sort of people's uprising that occurred in the countries of East Europe is not possible in Cuba." Therefore their "party" intends to organize a "coup or military mutiny against Fidel Castro." In this matter, they stated, the PDC "will enjoy the support of some Cuban military personnel."

At the same news conference Nicaraguan Vice President Vergilio Godoy; Miriam Arguello, chairman of the republic's National Assembly (parliament); Mayor of Managua Arnoldo Aleman; and 17 parliamentary deputies from the coalition of United Nicaraguan Opposition [UNO] political parties, disseminated a document supporting the Cuban Democratic Party's anti-Cuban activities. All of these politicians belong to UNO's radical right wing.

Danilo Lacayo, minister for information and press affairs, stated that he is not aware of any official participation by the Nicaraguan Government in hostile actions against Cuba, with which Nicaragua maintains diplomatic relations.

Sergio Ramirez, former Nicaraguan vice president and leader of the Sandinist Front faction in parliament, stated that the signing by the country's current Vice President Vergilio Godoy of the document supporting anti-Cuban activities is not at all in keeping with the foreign policy of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. He said that Vergilio Godoy does not possess any state powers and is an "ornamental figure in the Nicaraguan Government."

Supreme Soviet

Fourth Supreme Soviet Session Set for 10 Sep

LD1008085290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Aug 90

[Text] We have just received a report on the calling of the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the country's the Supreme Soviet, decreed to summon it on 10 September in Moscow.

Session Agenda Previewed

LD1108081090 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Aug 90

[Summary] As reported, a regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is to open 10 September. More than 100 bills have been submitted to the Presidium of the Soviet Parliament, but the session will be able to consider and adopt no more than 20-25 legislative acts. "Among them are laws on economic reform, as well as a number of bills that have been passed in the first readings. These are bills on entry and exit from the USSR, public organizations, the Soviet militia, etc. The deputies of the supreme organ of power in the country also are to discuss the draft of a new Union treaty."

Preparations Made for Revamp of State Security

Security Meeting Held 6 Aug

LD0608154590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "IZVESTIYA" press review]

[Text] On 6 August, a discussion led by USSR People's Deputies Ryzhov and Lopatin took place in the country's Supreme Soviet. It centered on a new concept that the country's security system is an extremely important part of the Union treaty. It was pointed out that a radical review needs to be made of the purely military understanding of state security, which has arisen over many years. Today, the main threats arise in the internal sphere: That is the result of hopeless economic backwardness, lack of social welfare provisions for people, and the disintegration of our multiethnic state.

The present mechanism is not capable of removing such threats. Just as before, everything comes down to the protection of state institutions. In the deputies' opinion, the new concept for guaranteeing security must include a whole system of mutually dependent factors aimed at defending the individual and the republic, as well as common national interests. It is proposed to prepare for the autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a basis for USSR and Union republic legislation on protecting security, and only then adopt laws on defense, state security, the KGB, the Soviet militia, state secrets, and others, and also create a security council under the head of state.

Further on Security Hearings

LD0608181890 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 6 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Speakers at the hearings, organised here by the Initiative Group of People's Deputies of the USSR, emphasised the need to elaborate a new security concept for the USSR as an important part of a new Union treaty.

The group is headed by Academician Yuriy Ryzhov, chairman of the Soviet Parliament Committee on Science. The hearings involved representatives of the union and the republican Academies of Science.

Noting that a concept of the state's security is nonexistent in the USSR, Ryzhov emphasised that the notion of security, apart from the military-political aspect, also includes the economic, cultural and ecological components. Ryzhov believes that the security of the state should be moved to the fore in the plan.

He said the goal of the hearings was to help accomodate security plans under development in republics to a comprehensive security concept for a national-state entity that will replace the USSR after the conclusion of the new union treaty.

Belorussian Academy of Sciences corresponding member Viktor Shabailov and Armenian Professor Nikolay Oganesyan declared for republics to create their own armies. Some participants in the discussion were sceptical of this idea, expressing apprehension that once Armenia and Azerbaijan had their own armed forces, large-scale military actions might ensue.

Participants also attended issues related to military production conversion. Academician Vsevolod Avduyevskiy emphasised that defence factories were not being retooled for civilian work but only received additional orders for consumer goods.

Keeping military capacities intact becomes an insurmountable obstacle to the transition to a market and can only worsen the country's economic position, he said.

Avduyevskiy categorically declared against arms exports. [sentence as received] Although these exports bring badly needed currency to the country, they jeopardise the country's long-term security interests.

All participants were of one mind that the main threat to the USSR's security emanated today not from the outside but from the inside—the grossly inefficient economy, ethnic conflicts and social tension.

People's Deputy Lopatin Reacts

LD0608213590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 6 August broadcasts a five-minute report presented by correspondent Aleksandr Nefedov on a meeting on national security issues, which took place at the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

Nefedov presents recorded interviews with passers-by on the streets of Moscow. Two or three people who are interviewed emphasize the existence of an internal threat to the country's security. Vladimir Nikolayevich Lopatin, people's deputy of the USSR, is interviewed on the meeting and on his view of security by telephone. Lopatin says:

"The old security system was, first of all, a guarantee of the security of that totalitarian regime which existed."

"That pyramid is turning over, and the security of the individual is becoming a basis for security."

"If in the past the national republics as a rule did not take part in tackling fundamental questions and were cut off from issues of ensuring security, including defense and foreign spheres—all this has been confirmed in the course of our meeting today—then now according to our suggestions they will have the last word. Sovereignty must be total."

Working Group Addresses Union Treaty Issues

LD0608213690 Moscow TASS in English 2114 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Consultations between plenipotentiary representatives of the parliaments of the Union republics and the working group of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers were continued in the Hall of Columns of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Monday.

The working group met representatives of the Belorussian parliament, Deputy Chairman Vasiliy Sholodonov and People's Deputy of Belorussia Zablotsky in the first half of the day.

A draft Union treaty, which is aimed at democratising state institutions and society as a whole, was suggested to the Belorussian representatives. There was a constructive discussion of the suggested ideas and proposals which on the whole contain the basis for shaping new all-Union relations.

It was agreed that the elaboration of these concepts of a new Union treaty will be continued with the participation of other Union republics.

In the afternoon the working group met representatives of the Moldavian parliament, Viktor Puscas, deputy chairman of parliament, and Konstantin Oborok, first deputy prime minster.

Approaches to and possible principles of a Union treaty were discussed in a frank atmosphere. Special attention was drawn to the need to ensure the sovereignty of republics within the framework of a new union and to reasonably combine direct treaty contacts between republics with the maintenance of the common interests of all-Union member-states.

Consultations with plenipotentiary representatives of the parliaments of Union republics will be continued.

Chairman Lukyanov Discusses Union Treaty Debate

LD2708200190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 27 August broadcasts a four-minute report on the 27 August sitting of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy. Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov attended the meeting.

Lukyanov was asked several questions regarding the upcoming Supreme Soviet session scheduled for 10 September. Correspondent Marina Novitskaya presents a recording of Lukyanov's remarks on the Supreme Soviet agenda at the sitting.

In the recording, Lukyanov says, "We must put measures on the transfer to a market economy as the first question on the agenda, of course, because it is the main question and the government must report back to us on what we instructed it to do. It will evidently also report on its own ideas and on an alternative draft, which currenty exists, as well as assessments of alternative drafts which have been submitted to the Supreme Soviet, 120 of them. There was also an independent commission of experts, and it made its conclusions; we will soon distribute the material on this. So, this is what we will be discussing.

"Nevertheless, several questions have emerged here. The question is being put forward in the following way—and here Deputies Dzhanasbayev and Pavliy are putting the questions as such: Maybe we need to cease our activities until the treaty is worked out, waiting until the authorities of the Union republics are demarcated."

Lukyanov goes on to say: "Let us proceed from the following: It is possible to change the authority of the Union, the powers of the Union, only when all republics work together, not each republic working individually at its own discretion. That is why, until this authority remains unchanged in the treaty, we should act within the framework of Union authority.

"At present these consultations that are being held, consultations with the Union republics, make it possible to have the draft of the treaty by the end of the year. I have several drafts of the treaty. Only an interregional group has failed to hand it in to me; it, as you know, announced a closed competition there. Three prizes were awarded, as far as I know. I would simply like to obtain their draft of a Union treaty as well. If there were such a draft, it would be possible to consider it at our first session, in its preliminary form, or at least the principles of conclusion and the procedure of conclusion of the treaty, and then submit it to the Congress of People's

Deputies. But it will be unable to adopt the treaty. The treaty must be signed by all Union republics, all subjects of the federation. It can only determine the principles."

Political & Social

Gorbachev Holds Moscow News Conference 31 Aug

LD3108192590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1515 GMT 31 Aug 90

[News conference by Soviet President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with foreign and domestic correspondents at the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow on 31 Aug—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Good evening. I have had on more than one occasion to start a news conference, referring to objective reasons and circumstances, with an apology. This has to be done this time as well. I know that promises are a serious thing. If you do not fulfill them on time then you should at least have the courage to apologize.

I have only just come to you from a joint sitting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation that has been running for two days. This has been a large-scale sitting, both with regard to the agenda and the problems discussed and with regard to the participants. In addition to the members of these two councils, the leaders of the republican governments, the leaders of all the country's autonomous formations, the leaders of the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet, a group of the country's workers, and representatives of associations—there were a lot of them, but naturally not representatives of all of them, only of the quite major ones—were invited to this meeting.

So it was quite a representative conversation, a representative meeting. Fifty people spoke over these two days. The discussion was very thorough, in the spirit of frankness and critical analysis—I would say harsh analysis—and this made it possible to come to grips with all the problems. It seems to me that it enabled us to make progress both in analysis and in the development of measures that are vital for us to carry out at this time, at this stage of perestroyka.

Perestroyka, if one talks of it in a general form, has entered a phase of serious trials, I think. We have no right to bide our time. The time at the disposal of the country's present leadership and of our society as a whole is limited in which to use the enormous positive resource that has arisen as a result of the transformations that have been implemented; we should use it at this stage of decisive changes.

I think that this meeting can be numbered among the most important events during all the years of perestroyka, insofar as it was devoted precisely to the issue of the upcoming reforms and a way via them to new forms of life in the economy and the Union. I think that it was actually devoted to finding the most suitable and optimum solutions that we must now implement.

Perhaps I can say that there is an understanding, a general understanding of the situation and its crucial significance; the main thing is that there is a realization of the need to act, to cooperate together. During these two days the thought, which I expressed in my introductory speech and which was then supported, was heard that we can only get out of the present difficult situation together. It was necessary to do this so that there is this realization. Indeed, there is a complex situation in the country. If we disperse our forces or even oppose one another then we could find ourselves in an even more complex situation. We must not lose time.

We have discussed approaches to the final stage of work on the program of a transfer to the market on the level of fundamental principles. This was very important and this discussion will allow us to complete the program in the next few days. There is an understanding that this progam can make sense if we speak about the country's integrality and about a single economic space and the cooperation of the people in tackling problems in the economic sphere.

We discussed and listened to the results of consultations regarding a future all-Union treaty—and this is a topical problem, too, and if it is not solved one cannot count on a successful advance along the paths of perestroyka. And we acknowledged that the consultations that had been held give us a possibility to attain a new phase of work. In connection with this, it was deemed expedient to form a preparatory committee that would include the first leaders of the Union republics, the president, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, thereby bringing work on the all-Union treaty up to this level at the next stage.

Much [thought] was given to the issue of the need for the stabilization of society regarding political processes as well as the economy, the market, and interethnic relations. This theme was probably one of the central ones. Besides, it was recognized that without solving this task it would be difficult to advance along the path of perestroyka. What is more, the further development of disintegration processes could do enormous harm to the entire course toward perestroyka.

I am satisfied with the discussion, although sometimes it took somewhat dramatic forms; but I can justify this by the scale of the problems we were discussing. This opens up possibilities for us to move forward decisively and confidently. We now have the time factor: We have always said that it matters and I would say that if we lose two or three months we will have to abandon a lot of things. It might have such an effect that we will have to correct not only our tactics but even our strategy. That is why our talk was like that. I would say it was momentous—momentous.

That is the main thing that was discussed. Please go ahead and ask what you want to know.

[AL-MUSAWWAR correspondent] AL-MUSAWWAR, Egypt. Mr. President, I know... I realize that you discussed today and yesterday basically your own internal questions. But as an Arab I cannot but ask you your opinion about what is going on in the Persian Gulf area. You have spoken about the Arab factor. Can you speak about this in greater detail, and if possible, what is the difference between your position and the position of Washington with regard to the solution to this question? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I presume that our position is well known to you. After all, you are all well informed people. We regard very seriously what is happening, what has happened in the Persian Gulf. We are in fundamental disagreement and we condemn the behavior of Iraq, the regime of President Husayn. This goes against universally recognized norms; it undermines the situation, it introduces a very dangerous element, and for this reason we stated our position from the very beginning: Not only can we not support such behavior, but we condemn it.

Therefore, we have been cooperating with all countries, including those in the Persian Gulf—Arab countries, Western countries, and other countries, virtually with the entire world community. I hope we have made a solid contribution to uniting efforts to withstand the possibility of this conflict being turned into an even more dangerous and large scale conflict.

We are staunch advocates of doing everything possible to prevent this conflict entering a new phase and we are therefore using all our capabilities. I am not going to list them all now, but they include messages, telephone conversations, work within the framework of the Security Council, trips by my representative to the Middle East, and exchanges of messages with President Husayn himself. In short, we are doing everything within our power and will continue to insist that this conflict not be allowed to develop into a dangerous phase. I think everyone must exercise decisiveness, firmness, and restraint. It may already seem to some that there has been a decline in our common prestige or in that of somebody's country, without mentioning which, but this is merely first impressions. I think that in the end everything will be decided by whether we manage—and I think... [pauses] I am confident of this—to resolve the conflict by political means and restore the status quo ante. We cannot agree to the annexation of Kuwait. We find this unacceptable for reasons of principle.

At the same time we are bringing an idea and an invitation to all our partners: to cooperate and search for political solutions. Yes, comrades, I believe and I have said this to the leaders of the United States—with whom we are in permanent contact—and to the leaders of the Western countries and... [pauses] the countries of Western Europe, that we must try to seek out keys to a peaceful solution to this acute international conflict by using the Arab factor. I think the entire Arab world first and foremost has an interest in untying this dangerous knot.

You want me to set out our plan of action to you. I think that some very intensive consultations are under way at the moment and that new approaches are emerging. I do not rule out any steps for a successful conclusion of these consultations. It seems to me that we must do everything possible to bring the Arab factor properly into play. In the end it is only people, and I am choosing my words as precisely as possible here, who are at odds with logic that can refuse such a prospect, including Iraq's President Husayn as well. We must do everything possible to ensure that none of the parties exploits any political mistakes for provocative purposes.

So far we have a common understanding that this is the way to act, although there are also other voices to be heard calling for other methods.

I think that we should stick to the approach which we have adopted, combining principle and firmness with flexibility and the search for political solutions. Cooperation is continuing. Every day we carry out multilateral contacts and exchanges of opinions on these matters—both open and private ones.

[Moderator Ignatenko] Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] I hope that I have also answered the second part of the question. The question asked whether there is a divergence. So far we're all acting by cooperation and coordination, together.

[Hungarian television correspondent] This question from Hungarian television. I would like to ask what decisions were adopted to stabilize the Soviet economy, especially the state of the consumer market in Soviet Union. This is one thing. Second, is the advent of the situation possible where, because of the domestic problems of the Soviet economy, deliveries of Soviet oil will be curtailed in the future both to East and West Europe?

[Gorbachev] We have two approaches toward stabilizing the economy.

This is a package of urgent measures. As for tying up money—hot money—and closing off the channels for increasing it—fast money income—not at the cost of cutting down production activity or economy activity, but by making incomes grow commensurately with the final result, for this a whole progam is emerging.

Next, it has been deemed essential that at the stage of stabilizing the economy and preserving economic links, which have been greatly violated and which affect the activity of production collectives and economic results, administrative methods should be used to this end—that is to say, centralized methods. I think that this shouldn't surprise you since if you analyze similar situations that have occurred in the history of particular states when they were in this situation, the same thing was used. I think we must not simply jump into the market without having solved the tasks of stabilization.

This does not mean that we shall solve our economic and social problems by means of stabilization measures. No. It means we shall prepare our economy better to move more decisively into the market. Furthermore, even in this period when we are implementing a package of measures to stabilize the economy, we will act in such a way as to keep introducing market elements, creating a market infrastructure, and while controlling some things allow more and more freedom regarding the prices of a number of goods and thereby gradually widen the market space. For this reason, the next few months—I think the remaining three months of this year and the first three months of next year—will be used to implement serious measures in this area, the stabilization of the economy; but I repeat again, to advance firmly toward the market.

Second, oil deliveries. We cannot get by without these deliveries. We need hard currency, so our domestic requirements, our domestic interests will prompt us to seek and increase exports. I think today we can state that we are faced, and this was one of the main topics at the meeting of the presidential Council and the Council of the Federation... [changes thought] we must do some good work now on expanding and increasing our export opportunities. Even a first look... well, not a first look, but the latest one. At this session, a general look reveals that we do have opportunities of this sort. We shall be increasing our export opportunities.

[CBS correspondent in English] A question from American television, CBS news: Yesterday one of your deputy foreign ministers said.... Can you hear? Yesterday one of your deputy foreign ministers expressed concern about the U.S. troop presence in the Middle East saying that in the short term it could trigger a war, in the long term there's no guarantee the Americans will be leaving the area. Your country also had had some serious reservations and has said it will not authorize the Soviet military to use force to enforce the UN sanctions against Iraq. Clearly you have some differences with the United States' policy. Can you share your concerns with us about the U.S. policy, and do you think it is wrong that the U.S. military now has this presence in the Middle East, and are you suggesting they should withdraw?

[Gorbachev] Our position on this account is known, too. We proceed from the premise that the U.S. Government has adopted such a decision considering the specific situation and responding to Saudi Arabia's appeal. This corresponds to the norms of the UN Charter, but at the same time we stress that we must all understand that stepping up military confrontation is always fraught with unpredictable consequences.

Therefore everybody should be very responsible so that a large-scale military conflict does not break out. This, I think, is our common concern. We are conveying this thought. If you think this is a difference in policy, I think that on the contrary this is cooperation. And the second thing: I think, by staking on solving this conflict through political means, we want to avoid the emergence of a military conflict by this and to create prerequisites by this for the situation to return to the initial state in the military respect, too. I do not think that after a political solution to this conflict is found, the U.S. leadership will keep these... [changes thought] I think that when the solution is found, guarantees of this solution will be found too. And I think the more rapidly military detente develops after this, the more at ease we will all be.

[Ignatenko] Thank you. Yes, go ahead.

[Orlov] Orlov from TASS: Mikhail Sergeyevich, there was a very great deal of talk prior to the Presidential Council meeting about the possibility of examining various concepts for the transfer to market. Could you clarify just how many concepts were examined? The government concept alone, or two, together with the so-called Shatalin concept? Which of them was endorsed and what do you intend to present to the Supreme Soviet?

[Gorbachev] The most surprising thing is that we have all campaigned so much for pluralism, for alternatives in discussing major issues, for comparison, for having ideas and approaches to compare, to give us—the government—the political leadership a choice, and now that we suddenly find ourselves actually in this situation a great deal of concern has arisen and our press has pulled out all the stops, as it were, so as to make a virtual tragedy out of this. I think it's a good thing that we have something to choose from. A special group was set up under Academician Aganbegyan that looked into 50 or 100, I think, different options—not only full-scale programs but options and alternatives for resolving various issues connected with switching our economy to the market. And so, in the first place we have here a normal, political process which is in keeping with the present stage of perestroyka and the democratization of our society. That is the first thing. I would ask that, when such situations arise, you as journalists welcome it rather than pulling horrified faces, and above all drawing horrified conclusions. That is the first thing.

The second thing: At this concluding stage what it all boils down to at the moment is that some very serious work has been done, there is a very serious draft program drawn up by Academician Shatalin's group, and there is also a proposal and a blueprint proposed by the government. We believe, and we agreed on this today, that we must emerge with one of these drafts. Moreover, we must do it this way: when we finish once and for all—and apropos of this current discussion, these past two days have shown there is a need to work on for say roughly a week—[we must] end up with a draft program that can be submitted for discussion. Moreover, we have decided to do it this way; once we have such a draft, and it should appear in the next few days for it is well on the way to completion, then this draft will be sent to all the republican Supreme Soviets and to the USSR Supreme Soviet. We believe the discussion in the republican supreme soviets together with its adoption or—with some further reworking of it—amplification by all the republican Supreme Soviets and by the USSR Supreme Soviet will allow us once and for all to end up with a document which will reflect the general accord. That, then, is the position vis-a-vis the draft.

[Australian Broadcasting Corporation correspondent in English] ABC Australia. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA today commented that the biggest shortage in the country today was not tobacco, meat, or other commodities, but confidence in the government. Now, one minister has already been sacked as a result of the tobacco shortage. Are sackings of anyone else contemplated to overcome the shortage of confidence in the government?

[Gorbachev] I hold to the following point of view: Now that we have reached a stage of profound change, now that we have enormous transformational tasks facing us, and now that we have very little time to play with—the destructive processes taking place in the economy, and also in the social and political sphere, could prevent us from advancing further—we cannot today allow ourselves the luxury of getting involved in a shake-up of political structures whether at Union or at republican level. All the more so since these structures were created and have been in operation for only 18 months—or even just a few months.

So the people are waiting for practical measures from us now, practical work, the resolution of practical issues and progress in... progress in our situation toward improvement. Faced with these expectations, and moreover with the social and economic strains and also the shortages and the interruptions which there are in society, if we allow ourselves to be drawn into a Union-wide skirmish, into a shake-up of political structures and of administrative structures, then we will inflict great damage on the work which we must resolve during the next few months.

Does this exclude the fact that we will make one or another correction to these structures, to cadre composition, or perhaps that we will indeed create some other structures and will renounce something in order to act effectively in resolving the tasks of this responsible stage? No, it does not exclude this. Speaking at the Presidential Council and at the Council of the Federation, I said that it should probably be admitted that a strengthening of the presidential powers will be needed, a more effecitve functioning will be needed, and perhaps some kind of additions will be needed in connection with this. The introduction of some kind of changes in the structure and in the activities of the government will be needed, and where we see one or another weaknesses, where one or another area is functioning incompetently, we will make cadre decisions so that these issues may be resolved competently. So our time demands, I think, precisely just such an approach. This is a well-considered, responsible approach.

[NHK correspondent] Japanese television, NHK: Mr. Shevardnadze's trip around the Asia-Pacific region, including Japan, is beginning today, which means the preparations for your visit to Japan are as well. Tell me please, Mikhail Sergeyevich, precisely during which month will you be in Japan and what new proposals do you have in connection with territorial issues.

[Gorbachev] I think that the time is becoming ripe for my visit to Japan. This is due to the fact that interest is being demonstrated by both sides in imparting new dynamics, in raising to a new level and in engaging in new forms of cooperation between these two neighboring countries. For this reason the governments have such an understanding, and there is also such an understanding among broad based public circles. I know the mood among our public circles. I recently met representatives of the Japanese public, and in general I keep up with what is occurring there, particularly as far as our cooperation is concerned.

It seems to me that conditions are becoming ripe and we hope that this visit will take place in the spring. Well, spring is something which can be extended—you mean when the cherries blossom or before this? So I see that the Japanese have become very precise people. Contemporary life has schooled them in this, as it were. But we have not reached such a stage yet and for this reason I say to you in the spring, in the spring.

As far as the last part of your question is concerned, you know there is a context within which both governments are functioning. And this context is taken into account by both of them. We are open to the discussion of any issues. I would confine myself to this for the time being.

[(Buchkevich)] (Buchkevich), PRAVDA correspondent. Mikhail Sergeyevich, please tell me what the prospects for the conclusion of a Union treaty are. Will you manage to do this this year, or is this work too complex and will it be continued further?

[Gorbachev] I expressed my opinion, as you recall, speaking on this issue when I was at military maneuvers in Odessa during my vacation. Well in general, comrades, including those observing, probably will ask what kind of maneuvers these were by the president—military or political? I think that these were military maneuvers, but from my position this was an opportunity to express my opinion on those issues which worry our society. The second section of my speech was devoted to this. I am sure that we must not delay in discussing and drawing up these proposals. And I must say that there was a very interesting discussion on this count at the Presidential Council. It gives one confidence. Moreover, this discussion is around proposals which have already reflected the harmony between the center and the republic.

They were even formulated in the form of a draft, a single document. It was our view that at this joint meeting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation we could only exchange opinions and express ideas and evaluations. We felt that none of us, neither the center nor the representatives of the republics, had the power to make decisions on them because this concerns Supreme Soviets throughout the country. It also concerns the people. But it is without doubt that we are moving toward an understanding of the new content, the new essence of our Union.

You know, I sensed that life is pushing everybody toward cooperation. What I have said, my very words, were actually spoken during the discussion on this group of questions—namely, it is understood in society and at the political level that we can only extricate ourselves from the difficulties and make successful progress in future by maintaining cooperation and interaction. It was firmly stated that we need a single economic space, and this means a single currency, a single customs, and a single bank. But in the process we have to bear in mind that this will all take place in a Union of sovereign states. In other words, we must move away from previous forms of cooperation and opt for new ones. Nonetheless, we have to open up the potential of our Union, doing so by cooperating in new ways.

I am convinced that this work must be done. It is not simple. You are right there, especially as we have invited representatives of all the autonomous formations. We didn't do this for nothing. After all, they are a substantial element in our state, our country, and our society. They are insisting that they take part in decision making on all fundamental questions which affect the future of this country. So, this is the entire nexus of questions pertaining to the future of our Union. Maybe this is the most complex of all.

I am optimistic at the moment. I can say with greater optimism that we will make successful progress. The fact that we have agreed to hand this question over to a preparatory committee made up of the main leaders of the republics and the Union allows me to hope that this work will be given greater dynamism.

[Ignatenko] Thank you. I think we should give a woman the privilege of asking a question. Go ahead please.

[Gorbachev] It is a good thing that you remembered that only toward the end of the news conference!

[Ignatenko] The end of the news conference. Yes, that's my fault.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Mr. Gorbachev, you have a lot of trips ahead before the end of the year. I should like to know when you are going to Spain and what is the importance for you of a trip to Spain.

[Gorbachev] Well, first and foremost I should tell you that I will be paring my foreign trips at this time to the bone—as much as possible. There are trips and meetings which simply cannot be put off however intense the work of the president, the government, and all those who today have to tackle the important tasks at this stage of perestroyka might be.

As far as a visit to Spain is concerned... [changes thought] Well, if I said that this is a long-held wish of mine, that would not add anything since I have already said that. All I can say is that very productive links are developing between us and that country, and these are expanding constantly. And so there is an ongoing exchange and political dialogue between us. That said, it is clear that we must constantly regulate our watches, and so I believe it is high time I paid a visit to Spain although I cannot tell you at this moment exactly when I shall be able to go.

[Ignatenko] A final question, if you please.

[(?Boyanski)] (?Boyanski) from POLITIKA in Yugoslavia: Mikhail Sergeyevich, can you tell us something of the model which is being drawn up by the Shatalin group. Is it an integrated blueprint for a transition to a market economy, or is it—as has been claimed—a concept for the economic basis of a Union treaty? It is probably impossible to distinguish between the concept for the economic basis of a Union treaty and the actual model for a market.

[Gorbachev] I think that the value of the draft prepared by Academician Shatalin's group lies in the fact that the two approaches are organically linked. The first is that we should have a realistic, effective program of changeover to the market, but nevertheless take into account the real situation and the trends and processes taking place in the Union.

Now attempts to propose a program for transition to the market which ignore that there is already a different situation in the republics today—that is already a reality—one can say that such a program would be doomed. For that reason this program received some support, I would say, solidly from the republics since they themselves took part in drawing it up. It links these two factors.

I must say that the government program... I looked at it, so to say, when it was still in its raw state, when it was still an incomplete draft. There is a lot there that corresponds to the Shatalin, the Shatalin group's draft. This is understandable. First, they are all dealing with the same realities of the same society and take into account the impulses coming from the new processes, and it seems to me that at the final stage—tomorrow both drafts will be lying on the table—those entrusted with completing and carrying out the decisive stage of the preparation of the draft, so that it is a single draft, will be able to evaluate everything valuable that has been prepared and to enrich the common, single draft.

Well, the comparison of these two alternative drafts is providing a chance, first to bring together thoughts, ideas, and approaches, and second to find the optimal solution. And on some three or four positions the most serious divergences, so to say, are coming out. They will probably be the object of deeper, scientific discussion by specialists and politicians.

The price question is one such subject. The question of what constitutes stabilizing measures and their nature is another subject. What should be done with taxes, tax policy, and the formation of the budget is another. Then there are the questions: What should be done about hard currency now insofar as there must be clarity in this matter as well; how should it be earned, how should it be distributed, and how should it be used? All of this will, I think, still be subject to additional analysis; and in the final analysis we will obtain that draft which we can propose to the republics.

Discussion in the Supreme Soviets of the republics and the USSR Supreme Soviet will, I think, provide much more food for thought to arrive at a balanced draft program which has been thought through to the end and is accepted by everyone.

After it is approved, both in the republican Supreme Soviets and the Union one, we will possess such a document. No doubt it will be worked up and not simply approved. That is clear. Now it will not simply be approved anywhere, not in any republic. Such days have past. Everything is subject to doubt and thorough analysis. But when it receives fundamental approval and additions are expressed which will be interpreted, included, integrated, and synthesized in this draft in one way or another, we will obtain a document on which basis work will proceed.

I think that after this it will be necessary to ratify it by presidential decree as a document which registers the agreement of all the republics and the center. Thank you!

[Ignatenko] Thank you all. Allow me on your behalf to thank Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the president.

[Gorbachev] Until we meet again! I promised you that soon there would be a meeting and, lo and behold, it has come to pass. There will be more meetings. [applause]

[?Gorbachev] So long!

Presidential, Federation Councils Meet 30-31 Aug

Final Report To Be Published

PM0109162990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report: "Session in Kremlin"]

[Text] The joint session of the USSR Council of the Federation and Presidential Council continued under the chairmanship of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev 31 August.

Speeches were heard from V. Bakatin, Yu. Ryzhov, A. Kutovenko, N. Ryzhkov, Ye. Velikhov, V. Kryuchkov, T. Zaslavskaya, S. Niyazov, V. Medvedev, I. Silayev, V. Shcherbakov, N. Pastukhov, and L. Kravchuk. R. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, briefed the participants in the joint session on the results of the consultative meetings of Union republic representatives on the elaboration of the new Union treaty. The order of further work was defined. With this, the joint session of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council completed its work. A final report on the session will be published.

PRAVDA Carries Communique

PM0209181390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Communique of the Joint Meeting of the USSR Federation Council and the Presidential Council"—TASS headline]

[Text] As has already been reported, a joint meeting of the USSR Federation Council and the Presidential Council was held on 30-31 August under the chairmanship of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. Taking part in it were top officials from the Union republics, members of the Union government, representatives of the autonomous entities, the trade unions, the Academy of Sciences, and a group of workers. The situation in the country was examined at the meeting from the standpoint of a critical analysis, and there was a discussion of issues connected with the preparation of a Union treaty and with the transition to the market, and also of urgent problems of concern to society today that are having an effect on the general social state and mood of the people. Alternative proposals were put forward on a number of issues.

The discussion was hard-hitting, unbiased, and productive. There were principled assessments of the current position, features of which are the serious crisis phenomena both in the economy and in political life. It was remarked that many negative phenomena stem from the objective circumstances of the transitional period, but these are exacerbated by miscalculations and mistakes on the part of the authorities at all levels and by economic incompetence and an ill-developed political culture.

The meeting's participants expressed their dissatisfaction over the work of the administrative organs to overcome the negative phenomena in society, and particularly regarding the socioeconomic development and standard of living of the working people. The central and local administrative organs are failing to attend to this by not using their powers to exercise economic and administrative control over the ongoing processes and are falling behind them.

Passivity and sometimes even inactivity or sluggishness on the part of management structures at all levels, as well as conscious or unconscious resistance to the forming of new economic relationships lead to mismanagement becoming more widespread and declines in discipline and elementary order in the production process. And obviously, there is also the striving on the part of some leaders to seek justification in the processes of democratization for their own inability to run matters, and this is at root untenable. Rather this is evidence of incompetence, of the inability of many leaders to work in the new conditions, utilizing people's initiative and their political vigor and energy aroused by perestroyka. In order to preserve the gains of democracy and push them forward, now more than ever we need good organization, discipline, and a sense of responsibility. And this goes for all the country's citizens.

Those participating in the meeting were of one view that there is a need at the present time for urgent, resolute, and concerted measures to stabilize the economic and sociopolitical situation and that this requries active work on the transition to the market, together with a strengthening everywhere of state discipline and law and order. The exchange of opinions that took place and the mutual understanding achieved on the main problems have opened up the possibility of completing work on the program for transition to the regulated market economy in a very short time.

A common understanding emerged that the transition to market relations in the USSR is feasible only within the framework of an all-Union market and the creation of a single economic space free of artificially erected obstacles and barriers and providing conditions for free entrepreneurial activity by economic subjects. Disintegration of the economic mechanism is not in the interests of the peoples of the sovereign Union republics.

At the same time, the qualitatively new nature of this all-Union mechanism should organically and without exception reflect the economic sovereignty of the Union republics and be based on the effective division of the functions of republican and Union administration. Naturally, the responsibility of the republics for the economic development of their territories will invariably increase.

The economic development of the Union, taking into account the realities which have formed, is unthinkable if both either the sovereignty of the states which are members of it as well as the unified principles of the creation and the functioning of an all-Union market are ignored. Precisely just such a dialectic unity should be at the base of the economic concept of the new Union treaty—this is the opinion of those taking part in the joint meeting of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council of the USSR.

In connection with this, materials prepared by scholars, specialists, and practical workers were discussed thoroughly. Those participating in the meeting agreed that to radically surmount the crisis phenomena, the implementation of a set of measures is required in the near future for the creation of a market infrastructure, as well as switching enterprises and entrepreneurs as the main subjects of the economy to the new principles of management and guaranteeing workers reliable social protection. Special attention was paid to the necessity of stabilizing the economy, finances, and the consumer market.

As those who spoke at the meeting stressed, implementation of these fundamental principles requires a coordinated monetary-credit, currency, and taxation policy aimed at bolstering the purchasing power of the ruble as well as measures to protect the pan-Union market; a joining of forces in the spheres of defense, power engineering, and transport; and the formulation of a strategy for foreign economic policy and ecological safety. It also requires cooperation in the development of backward regions, common action in emergency situations to deal with the aftermath of natural calamities and disasters as well as to combat criminal and economic crime, and the tackling of many other questions that are dictated by the new economic conditions and the actual situation in society. The urgent need to switch to market methods was stressed, as was the inadmissibility of this process being dragged out. The reserves of time have run out.

The participants in the meeting agreed to complete the draft program within a week, taking account of the exchange of opinions, and to submit it for examination by the republican Supreme Soviets and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In their discussion of the economic situation, the USSR president and the meeting's participants emphasized that its stabilization is intimately bound up with the need to normalize the political situation. The healthy processes of democratization must not be undermined by the shakiness of labor and performance discipline, by the illegal actions to boycott transport communications, by the extremely low level of trading, and by the upsurge in crime and other extremely destructive phenomena.

It was noted that the deepening of the reforms being carried out during the perestroyka process is accompanied by an overhaul of legal norms without which neither new economic conditions nor political structures can be formed. But this work must be pursued under normal legal and political conditions and must promote the strengthening of law and order. It is with complete justification that we describe perestroyka as a revolution. But it is a peaceful revolution, carried out within the framework of the law via a chain of profound structural reforms.

It was agreed that coordinated measures should be adopted in the very near future aimed at ensuring strict observance of public order by all officials and citizens; strengthening labor, state, and financial discipline; and enhancing the accountability of cadres.

It was deemed expedient to set up groups to actively monitor the implementation of laws and of instructions of the USSR president on matters such as discipline of mutual delivery obligations, introducing order into trading, strengthening legality in the country, bringing in the harvest, enhancing accountability for loss of agricultural produce, and a number of other matters.

The representatives of the republics were in agreement that stabilization of the economy will not come about unless discipline is ensured in regard to deliveries and mutual contractual obligations.

A report was heard at the meeting from R.N. Nishanov on the results of consultations on drawing up a Union treaty conducted by the working group with representatives of the Union republics. Commenting in a postiive vein on the importance of the work done, the participants in the meeting agreed to form a preparatory committee to draw up a new Union treaty, composed of plenipotentiary delegations of the republics headed by their top state officials and with the participation of the president of the USSR, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and to start its work as early as mid-September this year, conducting this work on a basis taking all-around account of various points of view and approaches, in the interests of all the peoples of our multinational state.

Summing up the results of the work that has been done, the participants in the meeting noted with satisfaction that the important discussions that had been held had helped, in the current complex situation, to reach a common view on the key questions involved in surmounting the crisis. It was specially emphasized that this would only be possible if all the republics and the central authorities act togther, if there is a common determination to present a united front in opposing all attempts at destabilization and whipping up tension.

Today as never before, the people need accord, firmness, and the determination to jointly continue the revolutionary cause of perestroyka and to guarantee the conditions for overcoming the difficulties and further intensifying the reform process. The conditions for such accord are now emerging, and it is important to realize them to the fullest. There is no other way of putting the country onto the path of dynamic, qualitative development, of creating an effective system for motivating society, collectives, and the individual to work for such development.

Gorbachev, Leaders View Results

LD0309145990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev held a working meeting today with members of the Presidential Council, the heads of the Union government, the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and a number of central economic departments. They discussed the main urgent measures to implement the agreements reached at the session of the Federation and Presidential Councils on 30-31 August. We have to start acting immediately on this work, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, without waiting for the final adoption of the full-scale program of transition to the market.

The USSR president issued an instruction for the creation of a number of task groups. Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was entrusted with heading work on the urgent solution of questions to do with completion of the economic year; the gathering of the harvest; preparation for winter; and normalization of trade in food items, especially in Moscow, Leningrad, and the large industrial centers where a critical situation has arisen.

The personal responsibility of officials at all levels for concluding and carrying out the contract obligations between the regions and the center, and the need for more active work in concluding contracts between enterprises to ensure reciprocal supplies next year were stressed. Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was put in charge of this work.

It was deemed expedient to examine as a matter of urgency the questions that have arisen on interaction between central and local bodies of power under the new circumstances, with the aim of ensuring legality and order. Coordination in this sphere has been entrusted to Presidential Council member Aleksandr Yakovlev.

It was noted that to achieve economic and political stability in the country there is a need, as never before, for mutual understanding, trust, and a sense of responsibility from all state and public structures and from the mass media.

Panel Assesses Gorbachev-Yeltsin 'Interaction'

LD0109174290 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 31 Aug 90

[From the "Top Priority" program]

[Excerpts] [Moderator Sergey Goryachev] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to Top Priority, Radio Moscow's weekly panel discussion. I'm Sergey Goryachev. Domestic developments seem to have overshadowed, or almost overshadowed, the Gulf crisis these days for at least some of the Soviet people. Our president, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the leader of the Russian parliament, Boris Yeltsin, had a five-hour meeting in Moscow on Wednesday. The meeting is considered very important as far as the relationship between the center and this biggest Soviet Republic are concerned. In the meantime, the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation held their joint meeting in Moscow to discuss some of the economic policies, transition to a market economy, etc. One of the representatives of Mikhail Gorbachev said that this meeting will probably determine the country's life for many months to come, and I would say for many years probably to come. Well, we will talk about this today with the two political analysts, Sergey Plekhanov to my left—welcome back from your vacation....

[Plekhanov] Thank you, nice to be here.

[Goryachev] And Andrey Kortunov to my right. And first let's talk about personalities. Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin are viewed by some of the people as competitors, by some of the people as even rivals; other people maintain that Boris Yeltsin is one of the strongest supporters of Gorbachev on the left side of the political spectrum. What is right?

[Plekhanov] [passage omitted] I think that the alliance between Yeltsin and Gorbachev and interaction, positive interaction, cooperation between these two leaders, is absolutely essential for the future of perestroyka, and it's a natural alliance.

[Goryachev] But is there an alliance, Andrey?

[Kortunov] Well, I guess that there can be an alliance; I think that there is nothing that can prevent these two leaders to make such an alliance. [passage omitted] I think that in the long run the interests of the two leaders coincide very much, and I think that key issue is just to share the powers and to avoid attempts to impose one's will on the partner. [passage omitted]

[Goryachev] Gorbachev said at the joint meeting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation that the country was facing serious problems, very serious problems, and that decisive measures should be taken without delay. Now can we interpret this as that there is certain consensus between Gorbachev and Yeltsin that the reforms should be accelerated, and that it is most likely that the pattern of the reforms proposed by Yeltsin will be accepted rather than the pattern proposed by Prime Minister Ryzhkov?

[Kortunov] Well, my feeling....

[Goryachev, interrupting] Or is that the wrong impression?

[Kortunov] You know, I would guess that no program proposed by the Ryzhkov government now can be accepted by the society, even the most radical reform, because people—let's face it—people simply do not trust the Ryzhkov government and they will not accept anything that will come out of this government. It has no legitimacy, it has no time in front of them, and therefore I think that now it is important—not just the essence of the program but who proposes the program—and from this point of view I think Yeltsin is in a much better position than Ryzhkov.

[Goryachev] Sergey, let me ask you a question, a simple question. As a citizen you go shopping every day, or your wife. What do you think about the government, about the government's handling of the situation?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that it has mishandled it. Of course at the local level not all the blame is on the central government. You have to be realistic. The city government, the local government, these are the organs of power which have some levers on the situation. And yesterday I was standing in line to buy some peppers and people were cursing the dark forces which are conspiring and the mafia is responsible for all that, so there is also part of the blame laid on the people who are doing it for their ulterior purposes. [passage omitted in which Plekhanov points out that government took responsibility for everything so must accept the blame for everything that goes wrong; Kortunov thinks the role of central government will gradually diminish as more responsibility is taken by local authorities]

[Plekhanov] There needs to be a consensus between the center and the Republic, and it is not accidental that when the work of this joint commission—Gorbachev-Yeltsin commission on economic reform—began to move forward immediately, the Council of Ministers—the Ryzhkov government—began to kind of throw spanners in the works, right, diminishing the importance, trying to denigrate the importance of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin commission, saying now well look, it's we who are in charge, these guys don't know anything, and so on. Which means that serious work is going on in the Yeltsin-Gorbachev commission.

[Kortunov] And the Ryzhkov government even deprived them of some important information.

[Plekhanov] Yes, they balked at giving some vital statistics on military spending, on the, on some other....

[Kortunov] Finance.

[Plekhanov] Yes, finances and so on.

[Goryachev] Economic matters will not be solved without restructuring the political map of the Soviet Union, without restructuring of the...of the Union itself. After all we don't know what kind of a country we will have in a few years. Will that be a federation or a confederation? Do you know, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] I think it will be a better country.

[Goryachev] Yes, I hope so. Well, I hope so. I do not know, but I hope so. But different ways are suggested as to how to improve this: it is either to sign a treaty of the Union, which is propagated by Gorbachev primarily; or having it a confederation of independent countries bound by bilateral or multilateral agreements, which is propagated by Yeltsin. What do you think about these two ways of solving this problem? Which is better? Go ahead, Andrey.

[Kortunov] Well, no, I think it is not the question of what is better but the question what is more feasible, and from my point of view of the country... well, it is too late for federation, it is too early for confederation. I do not think that the republics will buy, that all the republics will buy a federation at the moment. I think that the momentum has been lost. Perhaps if Gorbachev suggested this idea at the first congress of peoples deputies and we had the Union treaty long ago then it would be worth thinking of, but now I think a confederation is a preferable option but at the same time it's too early....

[Goryachev, interrupting] What is in between them?

[Kortunov] It is too early. Well, I think that between them it will be....

[Goryachev, interrupting] A mess?

[Kortunov] I think to some extent, yes.

[Goryachev] Well, let's not concentrate on the precise structures which may or may not fall apart. Let's think about the process. [passage omitted] If we want the republics to remain in some sort of an entity, some sort of a Union, some sort of a commonwealth if you will, the old vertical ties where everybody was managed tightly from the center will have to be replaced by a more vital and more equitable network of relationships between the republics themselves on the basis of their own benefits, what they see is good for them, what they see is not good for them. The question remains: What will the central government do?

[Plekhanov] Well then, the republics will decide. The central government, some kind of a cental entity in Moscow responsible for some larger interests which are there in reality, will have to be worked out. So I think that this process has a strong, a powerful logic to it. The process of decentralization did not go as smooth as Gorbachev had preferred it to, but it certainly going on and Gorbachev has not become alienated from that process. He is still part of that process, and that's the most important thing. That means that the center will be able to work out a function for itself which will be in line with the needs of the republics.

[Goryachev] Thank you for this analysis. We have very little time left. Your political forecasts for September?

[Kortunov] We will be hot.

[Plekhanov] Yes, it will be very hot political months, and we will emerge in a different shape from that month, but I think that we will have an economic program which will be more radical and will be in line with what the republics want. We will probably not yet have an understanding between the republics on what the new Soviet commonwealth will be like. There will be a lot of commotions, a lot of political upheaval in this month of September, but I think that September will move us forward quite significantly.

[Goryachev] Do you agree Andrey?

[Kortunov] Yes, I think September will clarify a lot of things. It will distinquish between what is feasible, what is possible, what is not—and I think it will be, well, more simple for many of us to take practical decisions after September. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze To Meet Union Republic Ministers

LD0309101190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The USSR foreign minister plans to convene a meeting of his Consultative Council in Moscow in mid-September. Minister Shevardnadze disclosed this in an interview with a group of diplomatic correspondents representing the Soviet mass media. The Consultative Council, to be attended by the foreign ministers of the Union republics, will be meeting for the first time. According to our correspondent Viktor Levin, it is proposed that independent activities by the Union republics in the international arena be discussed. Comrade Shevardnadze said that the Union republics must be assisted at a time when they are striving to play a more active role in the international arena since, as is often the case, they are nervous at this prospect.

Abalkin Says Government Prepared To Resign

LD0109113290 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Interview with USSR Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin by unidentified announcer in Moscow, date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] If it is necessary to do that, to save our country and achieve agreement, then in the name of the people this government is prepared to resign, said Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Government Leonid Abalkin when replying to questions at a trade union meeting in Moscow.

[Abalkin, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] Since last December there have been attempts to remove the government in its present composition. Since the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been pushed aside from guarding society and the collapse of many other structures, the government is the single body with the strength and ability to influence the country's economic processes. It does not have all the powers it had previously, but it is still in a position to maintain certain control over the processes.

[Announcer] In these conditions is the government really prepared to resign?

[Abalkin] We have discussed this question more than once in parliament. I can say openly that we are prepared at any time to step down if it is required to achieve agreement. When he met with the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, speaking on behalf of the government, said that we are prepared for this. If this is seen as an element of the political struggle between forces with various social and political aims relating to the future of the country and its people, then to leave the field of battle would be a crime before the people who believe in us, although they vacillate.

[Announcer] Does the government intend to turn directly to the people with a proposal to hold a referendum on changing over to a market economy, in conformity with the government's program?

[Abalkin] We have discussed another variant. In a certain situation we can go to the people over the head of the Supreme Soviet with our proposed program and ask the people what they have to say about it. We cannot hold a referendum as by the law the holding of a referendum is only within the competence of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, but we can put the question and call the Congress of People's Deputies together ahead of time so as to be able to put it to the government's opinion.

Today we are banking on the search for agreement and compromise, the search for agreement and understanding. We are trying to find understanding with the presidential group too, not backing away from principles and coming to a joint solution. We are against submitting two different programs to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian Federation. But it is fraught with danger for the country and could have very serious consequences.

Kryuchkov Interviewed at KGB School Opening

LD0109211690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Studies began today at the Dzerzhinskiy Higher School of the USSR KGB in Moscow. Until recently we knew no more about the work of this educational institution than we did about the activities of the KGB itself. But times are changing, and our film group was given the chance to visit the solemn ceremony at the start of the new academic year in this not quite ordinary college.

Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, member of the Presidential Council and chairman of the USSR KGB, spoke of the tasks of the future security officers in his speech to the cadets.

[Begin recording] [correspondent M. Ponomarev] In your speech you spoke of the changes in the situation in Europe, in the world, and in the political situation.

[Kryuchkov] There is a lot of positive things, but there are also some negative things which we cannot leave out of the account. I think we will do everything to reestablish trust between states: this will also be our contribution. But of course we cannot fail to take into account the fact that there are many subversive acts against our state, and there are clear attempts to make use of some factors of instability in our country. I think this is a broad area of activity for security officers.

Security is a broad concept. If, for example, we understand security only as the fight against the special services of the enemy, I think we will probably narrow the concept. The fight against the results of natural disasters is also a question of security, and of course transport, air transport, the railways, and other things. That is to say, security is a very broad concept and I think our approaches to studying this problem should be different than what they were before. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA Announces Publishing Cuts

PM0109162390

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 September 1990 Morning Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "It Is Possible To Subscribe to IZVESTIYA for Any Period" a boxed, unattributed announcement to subscribers that the cost of an annual subscription to IZVESTIYA is rising to 22.56 rubles in 1991. Among other information, the announcement includes the following paragraph:

"There is another change too. Next year we plan to publish six times a week—three days with eight pages and three days with six. In total, this will correspond to the present number of pages a week."

Two Arrested During Thwarted Hijack Attempt

LD0309072890 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Two men attempted to hijack a Soviet airliner in Kirghizia, in Central Asia, last Sunday, but were overpowered and are now in custody, Soviet Interior Ministry officials told TASS today.

The airliner, with 17 passengers on board, was en route from Przhevalsk to the Kirghizian capital Frunze when the two made their way into the cabin at 12:40 Moscow time, and demanded to fly to South Africa, threatening the pilots with knives and dummy bombs.

However, the criminals were arrested. Interior Ministry officials identified them only as vocational school student Kafarov and factory worker Vennikov, both from the Kirghizian town of Tokmak.

Vennikov stabbed himself several times with a knife during his arrest and had to be taken to hospital.

The criminals were found to have disguised empty coffee cans as explosive devices.

Economic

Shatalin Says New Market Structure 'In a Vacuum'

AU0309205890 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Interview with Soviet economist Stanislav Shatalin by Otto Hoermann in Vienna on 3 September—recorded, in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hoermann] Professor Shatalin, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union is experiencing a very serious situation. Where do you see the most difficult economic problem?

[Shatalin] We left one system behind us—the centralist system of administrative command economy without a market. This system, with all its inefficiency and lack of logic, kept this gigantic national economy above the water line. We destroyed the old structures, but we do not yet have the new market structures. Therefore we are in a vacuum.

[Hoermann] How do you assess the chances of the two existing [reform] programs?

[Shatalin] Frankly, as an economist and not as a politician—even though, unfortunately, I am a bit of a politician—I must say that bringing the two programs by Ryzhkov and by myself to a common denominator would not be easy, even though they use almost the same terms. It is not impossible, but it would be very difficult.

Which program will be accepted does not depend on President Gorbachev or on myself, but on the parliament.

[Hoermann] How do you see the chance?

[Shatalin] I would be a bad gambler and scientist if I were not to assume that my working group worked out a good program and that it has a good chance.

Above anyone else, President Gorbachev said that he likes my reform program.

[Hoermann] The human factor plays a big role. How can the introduction of the market be made compatible with social safeguards for the people?

[Shatalin] I know that we are criticized because we want to introduce the market quickly, and at the same time establish safeguards for the people. I know that this is a big contradiction. However, we need social safeguards. Our people cannot bear a hard blow dealt by the introduction of the market.

Lukyanov Speaks at Seminar on Transfer to Market

LD0409084190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The main theme of a seminar which opened in Moscow on 3 September was a mechanism for the social protection of the population during the transfer to the market. Participating in its work were USSR people's deputies and government and trade union representatives. Our correspondent Valeriy Leontsev reports in more detail:

[Leontsev] [passage omitted] [passage indistinct] in the forum was the speech by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Incidentally his speech changed the day's program somewhat, and so I cannot [passage indistinct]. With regard to Lukyanov's speech, he stressed that the session will begin by discussing the program for the transfer to the market, noting at the same time that there is already the understanding that we need a single common Union market, and this means a single principle of price formation, a single currency system, and a single customs service. And it means, perhaps, a common legal base as well which must be created by the country's Supreme Soviet. But the transfer to the market, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov stressed, must be accompanied by decisive measures to stabilize the economy. The fact is that the present state of affairs, when economic links are being broken and because of this factories lie idle, is becoming simply intolerable.

During the break, I asked Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov to talk about his attitudes towards this seminar. This is what he said:

[Begin Lukyanov recording] This is grand, useful work because the parliamentarians, the deputies are not [word indistinct]; they must study—the situation in the country is constantly changing, the questions from the electorate are changing. I think that this should all take on a permanent nature. [end recording]

[Leontsev] Recently there has been much talk of confrontation between the two programs—conventionally called the Ryzhkov program and the Shatalin program. What could you say about this?

[Begin Lukyanov recording] We are trying to make this a single program for the Union and the republics. [end recording]

'Mass Unemployment' Facing Soviet Workers

LD0309090790 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS news analyst Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—The restructuring of the Soviet economy, the transition to a market, could create mass unemployment in the USSR. Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs, told TASS that 30-40 million people might lose their jobs.

Several generations of Soviet people have come to regard the right to work as the inalienable right of every Soviet citizen. It is only in the past two years that Soviet society has begun to tolerate the fact that several prominent sportsmen and artists accepted invitations to work permanently abroad. But these are regarded as exceptions.

Soviet society is still psychologically unprepared for massive redundancies. The extensive economy in the USSR, which is now breathing its last, relied on the cheapness of labour and on a large number of vacancies. Tens of thousands of factories, research institutions and agricultural complexes worked below capacity and there were a large number of facilities under construction. This led to the emergence of a special kind of worker—a low-skilled migrant not interested in the achievement of end results. All these niches are being closed by the introduction of a market.

Six decades after the labour market was closed in the USSR, a labour surplus is again forming. It comprises approximately one-fifth of the able-bodied population.

But if we take a closer look at the situation, it turns out that there will still be many vacancies even after loss-making industrial facilities and economies and unfinished construction projects are closed. There are some 15 million such vacancies even now. Virtually all the most up-to-date production facilities in the country are operated only 50 per cent of the time. This means that equipment is idle much of the time. Demand for labour is growing in the widening area of services, in the cooperative and private sectors of the economy.

With all that, 10-12 million workers will face redundancy in the months ahead.

A reworked government plan of the transition to a market will be submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers to Parliament in a few days' time. The plan includes a mechanism for social protection of the population in new conditions to avert the threat of mass unemployment.

The system of social regulators drawn up by specialists of leading research centres and trade union experts includes a state service of employment which has not existed in the USSR before.

It will coordinate employment in regions, train and retrain personnel, organise public works and pay unemployment benefit. Incidentally, unemployment benefit will make up no less than half of a citizen' employed earnings.

With the present strained financial position in the country this is not easy. A social fund of professional orientation now being set up will be the guarantor of the programme. The fund will be made up mainly of deductions from profits of all Soviet enterprises.

Soviet Draft of Economic Reform Plan Obtained

OW0409022490 Tokyo KYODO in English 2304 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 3 KYODO—The latest proposals for economic restructuring in the Soviet Union call for a drastic privatization of state-owned land and corporations, according to a draft reform plan obtained by KYODO NEWS SERVICE Monday.

The ambitious proposals, based on the "500 days" program developed by economists of the Russian Republic, said the reforms should begin on October 1.

The 280-page draft, seen as a final blueprint for Soviet development of a market-oriented economy, was compiled by a panel formed in early August in accordance with an agreement between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The proposed scheme is far more radical than the Government's five-year economic reform program submitted in late May.

The panel, chaired by Presidential Council Member Stanislav Shatalin, said that during the critical first 100 days, the Government should privatize 50 to 60 state-run corporations.

By the 250th day, the number of private companies should be increased to 1,000-1,500 and prices should be deregulated.

By the 400th day, the draft envisages liberalization of foreign-currency flows that will make convertibility of the ruble possible.

In the last 100 days, further deregulation should occur in private ownership and economic activities, the draft paper said.

Here are the main points of the economic reform draft.

(In the first stage)
—expand private ownership
—incorporate 50-60 state-run companies by the end of the year
—allow farmers to own their alloted land
—reduce the budget deficit between October and December below 5 billion rubles (about 1.2 trillion yen) and cut the budgets of ministries and the KGB by 10-20 percent
—forbid new projects worth more than 100 million rubles in the fiscal 1991 budget
—abolish all subsidies beginning next January
—reorganize the national bank into a Federal Reserve Board and to incorporate all national special banks in the state
—establish a stock exchange in Moscow in November
—liberalize prices except those of daily necessities

(In the second stage)
—further liberalize prices
—boost the number of private companies to 1,000-1,500
—privatize rents

(In the third stage)
—let 30-40 percent of production funds, 50 percent of transportation, 60 percent of commercial activities go to the public
—deregulate foreign-currency flows

(In the final stage)
—denationalize more than 70 percent of enterprises, 80-90 percent of the transportation, construction, and commerce sectors
—free the labor market.

Scientific

TASS Reports on 'Mir' Cosmonauts' Activities

30 Aug Used for Training

LD3008175590 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, the crew of the seventh main expedition working on board the Mir space station since August 3, set aside today for training.

Training refreshes skills developed on earth in laboratories and on simulators in the cosmonauts training centre near Moscow. The cosmonauts "play through" all possible variants of emergency situations that can occur during a flight.

Both cosmonauts are training every day in the space "mini-stadium" so as to keep in form during the whole flight, which is scheduled to last until December.

Within the framework of the 260 hour space material study programme, the cosmonauts also continue work on the Krater-V installation, started on August 23. They are planning to obtain a valuable semiconductor material—zinc oxide.

Another experiment held on the Gallar appliance is intended to grow another semiconductor, gallium arsenide, needed by the radioelectronic industry. The experiment, started on August 24, will last for ten days.

Crew Conducts Medical Research

LD3108124790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0805 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report from the flight control center]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—The first month of Gennadiy Manakov's and Gennadiy Strekalov's orbital flight is coming to an end.

A considerable part of the Mir complex crew's working time is assigned to medical research today. Cosmonauts measured the mass of their bodies in the morning and assessed the state of their muscles which are underexecised in the weightlessness. The flight engineer will undergo tests to determine the bioelectrical activity of the heart in conditions of tranquility. The commander underwent the same tests yesterday. In the course of the day the crew will also carry out a number of experiments dealing with research into the dynamic of the gas composition in the station and module sections.

Experiments using scientific equipment installed on the external surface of the orbital complex are continuing. Yet another series of the tests on physical processes which are taking place in the ionosphere and upper layers of the earth's atmosphere is being carried out today.

According to reports coming from the orbit and data of the telemetric measurements the flight is proceeding normally. On Saturday and Sunday the cosmonauts will rest.

Future Space Vehicle Projects Outlined

LD3108135190 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Rena Kuznetsova and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—For the first time in the history of Soviet space exploration, revenue exceeded spending during the sixth, main expedition to the Mir space station. The total expenditure was [figure indistinct] million roubles, while that of revenue is expected to reach 97 million.

This statement was made by deputy mission chief Viktor Blagov at a press conference here. The conference was devoted to the result of the mission of Anatoliy Solovev and Aleksandr Balandin.

This crew spent 179 days in space. The expedition saw two spacewalks and more than 50 medical experiments. A total of 2,000 pictures were made with potential applications in various branches of the national economy. Pictures were also taken over the Caspian region, the Urals and the Kalmyk autonomous republic, where the ecological situation is grave.

Blagov revealed that another two modules have been prepared for launch. The "Spectrum" module will blast off in 1991 and the international ecological module "Prioroda" in 1992.

Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos, said that short-term plans included launching several spacecraft, like "Resurs-f", which automatically photograph the earth's surface.

"This year we also plan to launch two space vehicles, the 'Kosmos' space probe of 'Almaz' series and 'Resurs-o', which enables us to make high-quality pictures of Earth surface," he said. "The space probe 'Granat', launched on December 1, 1989, has provided unique information on the central part of our galaxy. We have also launched the 'Intercosmos-24' probe as part of the international experiment 'Active', aimed at studying the solar-Earth relationship. Unique data has been obtained."

'Granat' Satellite Completes Initial Research

LD0309131590 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent from the Space Communications Center]

[Text] Simferopol September 3 TASS—The first stage of scientific research, under an international programme, has been completed aboard the space observatory "Granat," launched on December 1, 1989.

More than 140 observations were made during the flight of various sections of the celestial sphere, including research into the sources of X-ray and gamma radiation in the large Magellanic Cloud, of the 1988 supernova, the galaxy clusters, the central zone and our galaxy. Other objects of investigation included the nucleus of active galaxies, quasars, X-ray pulsars and potential black holes. Approximately 18 hours a day were devoted to research.

Experiments yielded X-ray pictures of the central part of our galaxy and of rich clusters of galaxies in the constellations Virgo, Perseus, Coma Berenices and Centaurus. Measurements were taken of the period of revolution of eight neutron starts [word indistinct] X-ray pulsars. The spectrum and time structure of 100-odd sources of gamma-bursts were investigated. A hitherto unknown X-ray source, called "'Granat' Source," has been discovered.

Soviet and foreign specialists are monitoring the satellite and the on-board scientific equipment from the Space Communications Centre. The "Granat" space observatory will continue its research.

Parameters for 'Cosmos-2099' Reported

LD3108215290 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched by the Soyuz booster-rocket the Cosmos-2099 artificial earth satellite.

The satellite carries scientific equipment designed to continue space exploration.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

—initial period of revolution—88.7 minutes;
—maximum distance from the surface of the earth (apogee)—258 kilometers;
—minimum distance from the surface of the earth (perigee)—191 kilometers;
—orbit inclination—82.3 degrees.

Apart from the scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of the orbit elements and a radio-telemetric system to transmit to earth data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment.

The equipment installed in the satellite is operating normally.

The coordinating and computer center is processing the incoming information.

Particle Accelerators To Reduce Nuclear Waste

OW3108063490 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 5 Aug 90

[From the "Soviet World of Science and Technology" program]

[Text] Finally, let us talk about solving one of the most important problems of our time, finding unique ways to render harmless radioactive waste of nuclear power plants. A method was developed by scientists of the Physical Technical Institute of the Ukraine Academy of Sciences. The method involves the use of particle accelerators.

In addition to the large linear electron accelerators at the institute, the institute recently purchased a number of small linear electron accelerators. Each small linear electron accelerator has a power of tens of million electron watts. As far as design and efficiency are concerned, some of the equipment are even better than the best foreign products. The emergence of these accelerators brought about a very appealing idea: using the technology and means to render harmless nuclear fuel, nuclear waste, and other radioactive materials.

The scientific theory for solving this problem is very simple. As we all know, a nucleus is made up of a specific number of protons and neutrons. Under normal conditions, the protons and neutrons are tightly linked. However, in an unstable—or radioactive—nucleus, there is a surplus or deficiency of neutrons. Based on this fact, scientists have considered using particle beams travelling at the speed of light to continuously bombard radioactive waste in an attempt to eliminate surplus neutrons in a nucleus, or to make a nucleus deficient in protons, so that the nucleus will become neutral.

In accelerators, accelerated electrons waste release high-wattage gamma rays when colliding with radioactive. These gamma rays can eliminate long-life radioactive substances such as (?cobalt) and (?strontium). As these radioactive substances are a very small, although the most dangerous part, of nuclear waste, it is easy to eliminate these substances in a selective way. Other radioactive substances decay in a relatively short time.

Specialists have suggested that accelerators capable of rendering harmless radioactive nuclear waste be installed in tightly sealed nuclear power plants. The important thing here is to keep costs at a minimum. Nearly all of the power generated by nuclear power plants should be used to produce consumer goods. Only a small fraction of this power is needed to neutralize nuclear waste. To reduce nuclear waste to a minimum, it has been decided to further burn used nuclear fuel although this process will lower the production efficiency of nuclear power plants. Besides, if we can find a way to detect the hidden radioactivity released by the Chernobyl Power Plant, no one would give much thought to [words indistinct].

The Physical Technical Institute of the Ukraine Academy of Sciences plans to conduct its first experiment this year. For this, the institute is modifying some accelerators and selecting some suitable equipment. According to experts, some complicated research work will be required for quite some time.

Military

Yazov Discusses Reform Before Defense Council

LD0109183690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting of the Defense Council, chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, took place today in the Kremlin. The Defense Council heard and discussed reports by Marshal of the Soviet Union Yazov, USSR minister of defense, and by the commanders in chief of the USSR Armed Forces on the concept of the military reform for 1991-95 and for the period up to the year 2000, as well as issues linked to measures for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Europe and Mongolia. The meeting examined the importance of a consistent and qualitiative change of the Armed Forces in accordance with our new defense doctrine in conditions of the reduction of their strength. Issues on the improvement of the structure of branches of the Armed Forces, of the command and control system, and of the military and technical policy of providing the Armed Forces with modern arms and military equipment were discussed, taking into account the conversion that is being implemented in the defense industry. Further improvement of the professional level of cadres, the implementation of a gradual transition to a wider remanning with experts on a contractual basis, as well as preparations for the reduction of the length of active military service was recognized as necessary. Particular attention was paid to the social and welfare provisions for servicemen and their families.

USSR President Gorbachev instructed that amendments be included in the draft concept according to the results of the discussion which has been held and that it should be included and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yazov Addresses Assembly of Ideological Workers

PM0409121590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 90 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Key Task of Military Reform. Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, Member of the Presidential Council and USSR Minister of Defense, at an Assembly of Army and Navy Ideological Workers"; place and date not given]

[Text] Our country is at a difficult, crucial stage of perestroyka. The preparatory period has begun. The crucial phase of decisive changes is coming. We must implement fundamental transformations of the economic system and of the multinational Union and form the structures of the rule-of-law state. The key to the fulfillment of these complex tasks is in the transition to the market combined with the further development of the democratization of society's life on the strategic salient of our socialist choice.

It is clear that such scales, complex and attended by the overcoming of many contradictions and customary stereotypes, can be resolved on one essential condition. I have in mind the spiritual mobilization of people, the formation in them of the conviction that transformations are necessary and the readiness to work on their implementation. Hence the special role and enormous responsibility of ideological workers, including of course Army and Navy ideological workers. After all, the Armed Forces are part of society. And all the processes taking place in the country are naturally reflected in them.

I have already said, but I want to stress again and again, that man is at the center of all transformations. With regard to the Armed Forces that means above all the officer and the soldier. The success of the military reform and the safeguarding of the state's defense capability depend on their political orientation, professionalism, conscientiousness, and efficiency.

The leading role in the entire life and activity of the Army and Navy belongs to the officer. Today he is having to work under complex conditions. And not only on the material plane, although unfortunately it is often this factor which in some people's opinion pushes all the rest into the background. That is hardly right. No less important and ultimately decisive significance attaches to the ideological, spiritual aspect of the matter. Figuratively speaking a "defensive doctrine" is unacceptable in the spiritual sphere. Yet as practice attests it is here that we often deliberately concede the initiative, act to late, display passiveness, and retreat into a completely defensive position. And if we intend to preserve the role of the CPSU as a vanguard, ruling party; if we intend to prevent the implementation of the plans of those who—in their selfish political aims—count on splitting and separating the party and Army, splintering the officers corps, and setting against the soldiers' masses, then **we must resolutely restructure and reform ideological work.**

That means transforming it from defensive into offensive work; from faceless work addressed to no one into principled, keen work; from abstract, nonpractical work into reasoned work linked to specific conditions and practical tasks of the troops' daily life and activity, and of the transformation of the armed forces and military reform. Every Communist, and even more so every ideological worker, must be an active champion of the 28th congress decisions and of the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. One of its most important areas is military policy. The 28th party congress defined its substance and the ways and means of resolving tasks of the country's defense in the context of the new political thinking and a defensive military doctrine.

[Text] It is the congress' assessment that the positive changes in the contemporary international situation are closely linked with the Soviet state's foreign policy strategy, which promotes the processes of perestroyka and helps to ensure stability in the world. The signs of the new international situation are well known. The threat of war has receded. The processes of reducing military spending and switching funds to peaceful ends have begun. The transition from confrontation toward mutual understanding, dialogue, and cooperation has become apparent. The "cold war" has ended. The principles of the sides' equality and identical security are being established in interstate contacts. The process of disarmament talks is developing. Radical changes are occurring in East Europe. A difficult, painful choice of paths of development is being made there. This cannot but affect us. We are linked with the East European countries not only by geography but also by history and by common economic and political interests. And there can be no doubt that, despite the blasphemous attempts by certain forces, the peoples of those countries will preserve all that is good in our relations, including the memory of the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to Europe's liberation from fascism.

Life presents us with many questions. They must be answered and answered directly, without avoiding sharp corners. And for ideological workers this is also a professional duty.

Many of the questions which are heard especially frequently today concern the future of the Warsaw Pact Organization. What can I say about this? The Warsaw Pact has not always existed. It appeared in 1955, six years after NATO. This means that there were times when we lived both without NATO and without the Warsaw Pact, does it not? Like any agreement, the Warsaw Pact is not eternal and was concluded for a specific term. It came into being under definite historical conditions and, evidently, will live on as long as it meets the real needs of its member countries. The Political Consultative Committee conference held in Moscow last spring adopted a declaration designating agreed areas of the profound transformation of our alliance; its doctrine, strategy, and aims; and the organization of all its activity. In this political context questions connected with the unification of Germany should also be examined. This is a natural and necessary thing. At the same time, of course, the reliable regularization in international law of all aspects of unification within the framework of the all-European process must be ensured. As regards united Germany's NATO membership, of course we are not indifferent to the way this question is resolved. But it must be viewed in conjunction with the changes that will occur in Europe. And these will occur in three areas—there is broad international agreement on this. One of them embraces the general and substantial reduction of troops and arms in Europe, including a reduction of Germany's military arsenal, to the level of defense sufficiency. Another is connected with realizing the accords of the Helsinki process, including holding regular meetings and political consultations at the highest and other levels and creating centers for the exchange of information in the military sphere and for the resolution of conflicts. And the third includes transforming the Warsaw Pact and NATO into political alliances and developing good-neighborly relations between them and their member states. It is a question, in particular, of adopting a politically binding declaration of intent or concluding bilateral treaties, and in the long term, creating a nonbloc security system.

The ensuring of international security and peace is inseparably linked with the overcoming of dogmatic notions and stereotypes, the strengthening of political realism, and the development of cooperation among all states. Thanks to this, positive changes have been achieved in the international situation in recent years. However, guarantees of their irreversibility have not yet taken shape and the danger of war persists for the USSR.

Indeed, essentially not one of the main U.S. military programs—nor NATO ones as a whole—has yet been curtailed. The SDI program is also continuing to be realized. Relapses into the military strong-arm approach to resolving international problems are manifested in various regions. But you must proceed from the objective, vital necessity to assert nonconfrontational approaches; **to restructure international relations and world economic ties on the principles of freedom of choice and a balance of interests; and to form a stable system of peace, security, and global cooperation.**

The Soviet Union has taken on the difficult role of the initiator of such restructuring, paving **the way to a new, peaceful period in mankind's development.** And it is important for ideological workers to see this clearly and to show people persistently and convincingly that there simply is no other way under modern conditions and that our socialist choice obliges us to be in the vanguard of the struggle for the world's transformation.

In this connection I consider it useful to designate at least summarily **certain military aspects of the USSR's position in promoting the new political thinking in the international arena and in realizing measures to ensure security and peace.** The Soviet Union is in favor of globalizing the process of real disarmament and ensuring its continuity and the participation of all states in it. This process must embrace all categories of arms. We proceed from the urgent need for the universal and total cessation of nuclear tests. This also applies to the elimination of chemical weapons and the strengthening of the nonproliferation regime for nuclear and chemical weapons, combat missiles, and missile technology. The approach to nonproliferation must in principle be all-embracing and closely linked with the disarmament process. The same approach is also needed with regard to advancing toward the defensive sufficiency of conventional arms and toward asserting military openness as the universal norm of international life.

Even the very enumeration of just some problems connected with the use of political means of ensuring security and peace attests to how labor-intensive this matter is, demanding great consideration, patience, circumspection, and persistence. And it is important for Army and Navy ideological workers to bear this in mind because there is a very direct link here with fostering in servicemen a profound understanding of **the objective need to closely combine the Soviet state's steps toward peace with ensuring our military readiness.**

Despite speculative constructions and abstract pacifist declarations, this Leninist formula remains entirely topical nowadays. The defense of the socialist fatherland and the maintenance of the country's defense capability at a level guaranteeing the repulsion of aggression and reliable security remains a vitally important task today. Its successful resolution depends to a considerable degree on military cadres' profoundly comprehending and consistently implementing our defensive military doctrine.

Accumulating within itself the fundamental tenets and ideas of the new political thinking and of modern Soviet policy in the sphere of the country's defense and security, **the doctrine is the conceptual basis of the military reform and determines the nature, substance, and thrust of the radical transformation of the Armed Forces and of all our defense building as a whole.**

The actual elaboration of the new doctrine has become a very important political and scientific-theoretical element of military reform. And with its adoption in May 1987 practical transformations began to be implemented in the field of defense and in the Armed Forces. Everything which has been done in the past three years and slightly more is known to everyone. Already the results of military perestroyka are tangible enough. There is the substantial reduction in defense appropriations, the reduction and conversion of military production. There is the elimination of two classes of missiles, the unilateral 0.5 million reduction in troops and arms. There is the transformation which has been begun in the structure and system of the Armed Forces' management and training, and the creation of a qualitatively new grouping of Armed Forces within the USSR's territory. Finally there are the processes of democratization and glasnost which are gathering momentum and which are returning to servicemen's mutual relations their initial comradely nature and promoting the restoration and renewal of the socialist foundations of the nature of military life.

Here, it may be said, are the points of departure which we must have in mind when explaining problems of military reform. There are many such problems. The solution of many of them has already been begun while we are only approaching others and viewing yet others only theoretically for the time begin. It must be understood that the relevant political, socioeconomic, military-technical, and spiritual prerequisites are needed for their solution.

The Defense Ministry Collegium has discussed the concept of the Armed Forces' further development for 1991-1995 and the period through 2000. It is the core of the concept of the entire military reform.

The elaboration of this document continued for a long time with the active participation of ministries and departments, scientific research institutions, the general staff and main staffs of the branches of the Armed Forces, and the main and central directorates. It reflected the constructive ideas and proposals of many generals and officers from the staffs and troops, military training establishments, and scientific research institutes who have elaborated their own drafts. I shall cite some fragments of the concept.

For the composition of the Armed Forces. Complete the withdrawal of troops from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, and in the long term from Germany and Poland; and resolve the problems of the troops' stationing, the emplacement of arms and equipment, and the provision of facilities for servicemen and their families. Reduce the numerical strength of the Armed Forces to the minimum necessary with a consideration for increasing the professionalism of the personnel and improving the system of staffing within the framework of constitutional provisions on the basis of the joint principle which combines universal military service and voluntary service.

For the Armed Forces' structure. Retain the existing structure of branches at the initial stage of reform but subsequently, as there is a mutual and real reduction of troops and arms, create new ones according with defensive tasks; remove the civil defense troops and road building formations from the Armed Forces; dissolve the military construction units of civilian ministries and departments; reduce the number of associations, formations, and military training establishments and scientific research institutions; abolish duplicate and parallel organs of management; optimize staffs; and reduce the managerial apparatus' numerical strength.

For the Armed Forces' technical equipment. Introduce economic methods of elaborating and implementing armament programs which ensure the arms' high quality, reduce the number of general clients, and develop and produce arms only on the basis of contracts between the Defense Ministry and industry.

For the Armed Forces' training. Assimilate the principles and methods of organizing and conducting retaliatory actions to repel aggression stemming from the defensive doctrine; bring the system and quality of the training of military cadres and instruction of the personnel into line with the demands of combat readiness, the level of technical equipping of the Army and Navy, and the content of their combat tasks.

For party-political work. Transform the system of political organs; distinguish between their functions and the activity of the party organizations; create new structures according with modern political realities and the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress as well as ensuring the effective political, military, moral, and legal education of the personnel.

For the servicemen's social provision. Create an effective system for the implementation of social guarantees on the basis of renewed military legislation, the consistent fulfillment of the statewide program for social provision for servicemen, the buildup of the volumes and pace of housing construction, and the further democratization of the life of the Armed Forces and the entire military organization of society.

The fulfillment of the entire package of these tasks is possible only on the basis of society's successful perestroyka. The sum total **of the transformation of the Armed Forces is their quantitative and qualitative optimization and the ensuring of the high degree of efficiency for all defense building with the minimum expenditure of funds and resources.**

During the implementation of military reform measures, and that is not a one-act matter but a long-term one, we must maintain the constant combat readiness of the Army and Navy. Achieving a deep understanding of the need to observe this demand and its fulfillment by all officers and soldiers is one of the most important tasks of Army and Navy ideological workers.

Unfortunately as of today there are quite a lot of serious omissions and shortcomings in this matter. It must be admitted that we have not succeeded in asserting in the troops and fleets an atmosphere of responsibility for the maintenance of combat readiness. Yet that is precisely what determines all the rest. Combat training is still often badly organized, the efficiency of classes and training sessions is low, and a considerable amount of training time is wasted. The role of high qualifications and professional skill in the servicemen, especially the officer corps, has been belittled. People's diversion from studies, oversimplification, and indulgence have not been eliminated.

Despite all the measures which are being taken, no fundamental improvement in military discipline has been achieved. In some places slogans and appeals still dominate in work to strengthen discipline. There is no specific education for a specific person, and precise statutory exactingness and concern for subordinates is replaced with idle talk. The absence of statutory order creates the preconditions for the emergence of nonstatutory relations. Ideological workers are unfortunately often aloof from the solution of these problems. Yet today it is precisely here that there lies **the front line of your work.**

People's mobilization to the universal assertion of a truly martial order and respect for the individual, the ensuring of the consistent and unconditional implementation of servicemen's duties and rights, a demonstration of the need for and importance of their work for the people and for the country—all this is called on actively to promote the enhancement of the authority of the Army and Navy and the prestige of military service.

There is no doubt that without the resolute and dynamic perestroyka of ideological work it is hardly possible to count on the success of military reform. A number of elements are of fundamental importance in the practical implementation of this perestroyka.

First. About the Army and politics. There is no Army outside politics. That means that all political educational work in the Armed Forces should continue to proceed from the premise that the Army has been and remains the instrument of the state, the instrument of policy. It is appropriate to recall the words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin to the effect that any shouting about the Army's political neutrality in the state is a base and hypocritical lie. And he who calls for the depoliticization of the Army is trying to clear the way for the pursuit of his own policy.

Second. About the Army and the multiparty system. Political pluralism in our society is a reality. We must proceed from the premise that the establishment of the multiparty system is not a one-off act. It is a process, and quite a lengthy one. The multiparty system will not lead to the Army's depoliticization. Political-ideological institutions will be preserved in it. That is why the elimination of Army and Navy party organizations which some people are trying to impose on us today means in fact simply eliminating the CPSU's influence. After all it is the CPSU which is today the only real political force in our Armed Forces. As of today, in the Army and Navy the party stratum is over 25 percent—that is every fourth serviceman is a Communist. And the conservation of the CPSU's role and place in the Army and Navy as the vanguard, ruling party depends directly on the activeness, militancy, principledness, and effectiveness of the daily work of every party organization and every Communist.

Meanwhile, in a number of cases these qualities have started to be lost. In the atmosphere of democratization and glasnost a considerable proportion of Communists have proved unready to conduct political dialogue and to deal a resolute rebuff to the malicious, demagogic attacks on the Communist Party, socialism, the Army, and the political organs.

Third. About interethnic relations in the military collectives. The reality is such that the situation in a number of regions of the country remains complex, acute, and contradictory. Anticonstitutional legislative acts are being adopted, tension is being stoked around military establishments and townships, servicemen are being subjected to moral and psychological pressure, a boycott against the draft into the Armed Forces is being organized, and refusal to serve and desertion are being encouraged. All this is undoubtedly affecting the Army and Navy and the situation in the military collectives. Yet our reaction is sometimes slow and inadequate and in many cases hardened ideas about the "problem-free nature" of interethnic relations, especially at the level of the regimental or ship link, have not been eliminated. And this at a time when there are more and more cases of national egotism and arrogance, of "national favoritism" and law violations along national lines. This is a burning sector of ideological work and we must work on it assertively, enterprisingly, systematically, and aiming to stay out ahead.

Of course, ideological workers know well Lenin's statement to the effect that a word is also a deed. I should like your work at the present crucial stage of the development of the country and the Armed Forces to accord in full with this definition of Lenin's in resolving the practical tasks of military reform.

For that the ideological worker needs specific qualities. Above all he must be a fighter, that is a bold man firm in his convictions and principles, capable of defending and implementing the party's line and policy. He must be open to people and that means he must be sincere, honest, morally decent, making high moral demands primarily on himself. He must be a professional, that is he must possess the necessary sum of knowledge and skills; sufficient erudition and general culture; and possess the art of polemics, of dealing with people, of public speaking, and of organizing and holding ideological events.

That is perhaps the main thing. With the presence and realization of these qualities the ideological worker's word will indeed be his deed.

But our business is an extraordinarily important one. In the present complex time we must ensure the country's defense capability, the constant combat readiness of the Army and Navy, and the reliable defense of the socialist choice of our multinational motherland—the USSR. The times demand new energy and new efforts. There is activation among those who, manipulating the slogans of perestroyka, would like to overthrow the party, destroy the Soviet Union, and weaken the Armed Forces and split them into national compartments.

Today much is determined by the political position of the Army and Navy and our officer corps. It was precisely regulated by the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress. Through military reform, through the transformation of the Armed Forces, it should be implemented.

Yakovlev Discusses Military Conversion Issues

PM3108220590 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 35, 27 Aug-3 Sep 90 pp 20-21

[Article by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Presidential Council: "Conversion: A Global Challenge"]

[Text] It was only by the turn of the 20th century that mankind had grown wise and mature enough to start, practically and voluntarily, a process of real disarmament. Practically, because as a slogan, and moral concept, the idea of disarmament was known centuries and even millennia ago. However, at the earlier stages of history, contradictions of interests were insurmountable, hopes remained hopes, while mankind continued the crazy march towards the doomsday.

Today we can see light at the end of the tunnel. I would like to note that the disarmament process was started on a voluntary basis. The philosopy and policy of perestroika must be given credit for allowing this voluntary disarmament to become a reality. Moreover, the process which is beginning before our eyes is one of few, but extremely important examples demonstrating that mankind not only must live reasonably, but also can do it.

The world community sobered up in time. For the first time in the history of mankind common sense prevailed, setting an example of historic significance.

Ahead of us, there is one and only way: to think together, analyze different options and consequences, to agree on the basis of balance of interest and then to act jointly. Any other way of international behaviour is like playing with fire which may spark a world conflagration. This is why in the fragile transition period we are living in it is so much important to affirm rational forms of thinking and morality, social and personal conduct, political responsibility. This is the only way leasing to a civilization without arms or war.

Conversion, I believe, should be considered in this socio-historical and spiritual context which is common to the entire civilization. By conversion I mean not a concrete set of its objectives and tasks, but an integral, common, strategic and global super-task of conversion as a phenomenon, as an up-shot of everything new that is generated by ages-old dream, that has now a chance to become a reality, that can make our life easier and nobler.

There is an old parable about two masons: one was simply laying bricks, the other realized he was building a temple.

Realization is the key word.

We can and must be looking for a reasonable and really useful way to utilize everything that conversion of the military sphere will produce. However, this will never be sufficient without the understanding that conversion is not a self-contained goal of a payment for past failures, old political desires and priorities. Conversion is not even simply a demand of the time. Conversion of military industries and spheres of activity to civilian use can and must become an integral part of the construction of a better world, nationally and globally.

Mankind is reducing armaments, liberating itself from fear, the burden of militarized psychology, politics and philosophy.

All this is taking place in an imperfect world. The forces of evil are still very powerful. It seems to me that ghosts of the past may come back more easily than they were ousted from our life. In other words, embarking on the path of conversation, one should not idealize changes for the better, but one should not underestimate such changes either.

Conversion is a product of new thinking and as such it must be carried out fully in compliance with the new vision of the ends and the means of the common evolution.

Conversion is more than beating the swords into ploughshares, or regearing military industries to civilian production. Conversion also requires that the entire pattern of relations between the civilian and the military sectors of economy, all relationships and ties between society and the military-industrial complex be reconsidered in favour of greater rationality, efficiency, economic and political responsibility. This is the ultimate objective of the conversion drive.

The task of the experts is to define the concrete content of conversion, its forms and organization. Any way, conversion should be a harmonious part of socio-economic changes and free market relations. Otherwise differences between and conflicting interests of these factors could do harm to conversion itself, to perestroika and, thus, to the people. Meanwhile, we must think now to regear the tremendous material potential incorporating state-of-the-art scientific, technological and organizational achievements to constructive processes.

It would be correct to say that so far we have had no programme or scientifically-based practice of conversion. It is logical and natural that some time after a task is set, it is implemented superficially. Obviously, this stage is unescapable. But gradually deeper levels of the problem start to be affected.

For the Soviet Union conversion is an extremly significant economic factor, which can only be realized by ourselves. The course of this nation's evolution will be hard to reverse if we fail to hit the target with the bullet of conversion. That is why it is necessary to work our a serious scientific scale of priorities for the structural reshaping of our state's economic organism and social policies, which can be reached with the help of conversion.

We must give credit to this country's defence and aerospace industries: in many aspects these are on the world level. The question of how dearly the country has paid for their success is a different business. To provide a sound modern technological foundation for our free market which is emerging amidst so much suffering, to align economic interest and the scientific and technological progress, it is extremly important to allow the stars of the defence industries to become leaders of new economic relations. To preserve the status quo would mean not only to implant the administrative tumour in the body of free market economy but also to doom the most advanced scientific and technological achievements to decay together with many other overcentralized branches dominated by red-tape, out of touch with either the market or consumers and enslaved by departmental ambitions.

All the abovementioned is not an attempt to present an original concept of conversion. It is a humble attempt to reflect on the essence of the phenomenon and its links with other spheres of life. Personally, I believe that a concept of conversion can only be elaborated in the most advanced spheres of the contemporary scientific thought. All sciences on society and man must contribute to this concept.

Implementation of conversion is not an exclusive business of the world's defence departments and industries. One way or another, the entire world community will be engaged in conversion processes. If so, then from the very start and on both the theoretical and practical levels conversion must be worked out and implemented as an open and democratic programme welcoming ideas, suggestion, initiative and criticism.

In this context conversion is a transition to a new quality in social relationships inside and outside the country. Conversion cannot be confined only to economic and technological aspects, however important these may be. Today's problems and scale of conversion is not even the dress rehearsal of the dramatic and comprehensive changes which will inevitably occur in this sphere. Problems of control and verification will develop a new quality and dimension: these will not be a mixture of policing and spying, but a form of cooperation, the only way to maximal balance of interests, elimination of mistrust and suspicion. In this sense conversion is a practical and psychological training before entering the next stage in creating a new model of international community.

Social psychology operates the notion of "self-realizing prophecy." When a person fears other people and feels hostile to them for some reason, if he/she believes other people's words and actions are nothing but concealed threats, duplicity, intrigues and malicious designs against him/her, if he/she resorts to conflict forms only in the relations with others, sooner or later a corresponding reaction will come, and will be interpreted as yet another confirmation of the belief that the world is basically corrupt and only pretends to be good.

The outside world is also gradually forming its attitude to such a person and this attitude will hardly be favourable.

Militarized mentality and militarist psychology have been formed through millenia. Their imprint on thinking and politics is tremendous. But to demolish them we have decades, not centuries or millenia. No one is guaranteed against mistakes on the thorny path of disarmament and conversion. I am sure that should something unexpected happen, many people will readily say: "We told you so." Some will be guided by self-interest. Most others will say so under the burden of historical prejudice and outdated convictions.

All of us, scholars, politicians and practical workers, must see this danger and assess it realistically. The danger is very probable. It can impede or even repell the affirmation of the new philosophy of social life. To avoid this, from the very start conversion must become an example of extensive international cooperation in the efforts to work out its general objectives and concepts and to carry it out.

The human dimension and content of conversion is of paramount importance. Tens of millions of people, officers and enlisted men, workers employed at defence-related research centres and plants, will become interested allies and participants in conversion, not obedient executors of political decisions, only if this human dimension is honoured. Their participation will impart an additional powerful impetus to conversion itself.

We are starting a collective effort in the direction which is vitally important for mankind with the right things: moral realization and theoretical search.

Explosions Reported at Far East Ammunition Dump

PM0409115090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Yu. Balakirev under the rubric "From the Scene of the Event": "Explosions Rumble at Settlement"]

[Excerpts] Far East—We have already reported on the emergency situation prevailing in a rayon on the Pacific coast (IZVESTIYA No. 244). Shells began exploding in the area of the ammunition dumps. What happened? [passage omitted]

As military men explained to me: "Combat supplies on the territory of the depot detonated." Subunit commander A. Labutin rushed to the depot and spontaneously threw himself into the inferno to evaluate the situation. Firefighters arriving by vehicle also acted on the verge of recklessness: The scale of the disaster was still not clear to anyone. But the firefighters soon had to pull back. Everyone understood, of course, that the chief danger was not fire: Fragments of exploding shells had hit other munitions cases, punctured them... By great good fortune, these shells are stored "not fully armed," as the specialists say; they lack the firing mechanism.... [passage omitted]

After 0400 people got the feeling that disaster had receded. The fire was still visible, but the cannonade had started to subside. Meanwhile Vice Admiral V. Kalabin, chief of staff of the Pacific Fleet, and senior officers went to reconnoiter the fragment-strewn depots zone aboard an armored personnel carrier. They established that three storage facilities were damaged.

It is as yet difficult to talk of the causes. The depots chief is convinced that "munitions cannot explode by themselves. Even if a stack of cases had fallen, each shell has three safety levels. The conclusions must be drawn by a competent commission."

The most important thing is that there were no casualties. But the inhabitants of the settlement suffered losses.

It would be nice if that was the end of the story. But the emergency situation at the settlement has not yet been lifted. Here are some notes from my notebook made on 31 August: "1118, strong explosion. 1355, strong explosion." Isolated bangs among the hills were to be heard as I was finishing this report.

Troop Redeployment to Republics Reported

LD3108152690 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Minsk August 31 TASS—"Mindful of ensuring the security of the Soviet Union, Soviet troops, which are being withdrawn from abroad, are now being sent to various Union republics, including to Belorussia, the Ukraine, Russia and Uzbekistan," said Colonel-General Anatoliy Kostenko.

The commander of the troops of the Belorussian Military District told TASS that troop withdrawal plans do not envisage weakening the country's western frontiers. Therefore, areas were allotted in Belorussia for the deployment of troops from the central and southern forces.

"None of them have nuclear and chemical weapons or large-capacity radars and other systems hazardous to the ecology and human health. No new garrisons or shooting ranges are being established. Twice as many units are being reduced there than those arriving.

"The transfer by the Defence Ministry of lands to the authority of economic management agencies is not being interrupted. Two Air Force ranges were dismantled and the area occupied by training centres was trimmed. Over 25,000 hectares of land, previously used for military training, have been turned over for farming, haymaking and grazing over the last two years."

Kostenko recalled that the political decision on troop withdrawal from East European countries was taken a year ago, when the present administative structures were not formed in Belorussia and prior to the adoption of the sovereignty declaration.

"However, our relations with the republican government are built on a businesslike basis, with due account for both sides' interests. Each of the sides is deeply aware of its high responsibility for the defence of the country. The arising problems and regulated by legal standards. In short, the army lives in the same economic and legal system as any republican agency," Kostenko emphasised.

Baltic Republics

Estonian Controversy Over Border Posts Reported

Group Seeks Border Restoration

LD0209185890 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Tallinn September 2 TASS—A group of people wearing armbands of Kaitseliit ("Defense Union"—a para-military organisation of bourgeois Estonia, which is now being revived) came to an area close to the village of Komarovka, Leningrad region, this morning. They dug in two wooden frontier posts by both sides of the road and put a barrier between them. Curious Komarovka residents asked them what it all meant. The Kaitseliit members answered: "We want to demonstrate to the Russian and Estonian governments the will of the Estonian people and restore old Estonia's borders."

Their actions triggered a strong protest of local residents and representatives of the Narva and Kingisepp City Councils who came to the scene of the incident. Kaitseliit made similar attempts in the Pechora and Pskov regions. They were also stopped after protests of local authorities.

RSFSR Appeals to Government

LD0309091490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers: It has become known that on 2 September a group of unknown persons from the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic set up border posts on the territory of Leningrad Oblast, allegedly marking the border between Estonia and the RSFSR, clearly violating, furthermore, the administrative and territorial division of the USSR.

These arbitrary and illegal actions have the clearly provocative aim of trying to create a conflict between Estonia and Russia, precisely at the time when friendly negotiations on mutual relations are under way between the two republics.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers has appealed to the government of Estonia to take measures to stop such illegal actions from the Estonian side.

Border Provokes Responses

LD0309203390 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Tallin September 3 TASS—Abortive attempts by members of Kaitseliit ("The Union of Protection," a paramilitary organisation which existed in Estonia before 1940) to establish border services in Kingisepp district, Leningrad region, and Pechora district, Pskov region, provoked different responses in the republic.

A proposal made by Christian Democrats on August 28 at a sitting by the presidium of the republican parliament to annul legislative acts concerning territorial changes, provoked a lively discussion.

As a result of those changes, the border between Estonia and the Russian Federation was adjusted, taking into account the ethnic composition of border areas.

Some lawmakers, including President of the Estonian Parliament Arnold Ruutel, spoke of the need to examine this issue in detail.

Estonian Minister of State Raivo Vare noted that the above events showed that there are forces in the republic, seeking to press the Supreme Soviet and the government for actions which may damage the process of democratisation in society and the establishment of Estonian statehood.

Vare regrets that the incident took place precisely at a time when talks between Estonia and the Russian Federation entered the phase of a constructive dialogue.

In the minister's opinion, the desire of some political forces to bring the talks into a dead end is behind those events.

Such actions are aimed at scuttling the talks between Estonia and Russia, believes Enn Poldroos, leader of the People's Front parliamentary group.

He believes that extreme caution should be exercised in settling any questions concerning territorial claims, since the slightest conflict in this field is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

Minister Deplores Actions

LD0309110190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 0900 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] [Correspondent Gunnar Paal] Headquarter exercises of the Kaitseliit [Defense League] have added a fizz to our political life, and this, in a way, we would not wish in the present situation. This is what was also discussed this morning here in the government building on Toompea, and Raivo Vare, minister of state, the situation is fairly complex in connection with this ill-considered political action.

[Vare] Yes, indeed, evidently such an action, a political action was meant to excite passions, so to speak, in one sense or another, and on one or the other side. The situation itself was like this: On Sunday morning busloads of Kaitseliit members arrived at locations, within the framework of the extended headquarter exercises and near Komarovka village in Leningrad Oblast where the Estonian border passes through [as heard; border formerly passed there], border posts were erected together with barriers and naturally, this evoked a fairly negative reaction locally, among the Russian-speaking population. This naturally, was also as if by design, and information passed very swiftly to very high and faraway [places], up to Khasbulatov, Yeltsin's deputy. It was taken very seriously in Leningrad. The chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet personally dealt with the issue. And evidently it was not by accident that this was timed to coincide with the moment when talks with Leningrad are running toward a close smoothly, so to speak, and where already a very realistic and I think very profitable agreement is emerging. But the best way to spoil something and mess it up is to incite passions.

On the whole, the principle of attempting to avoid any tension-inspiring actions is recognized in diplomacy. This indeed one cannot say about Kaitseliit members who—let us recall—also started to deal with the Lenin monument in Tartu for some reason just when talks opened with the RSFSR. That was indeed on the same day. And now, with Leningrad, the situation is very similar. Well, strange thoughts come into one's head: why precisely now and at this moment and why in this way?

It is not the case of a right: who has the right, who has more and who has less. Such issues have to be resolved everywhere solely and only behind the talks table. And the fact that now—as a fruit of certain efforts—it was possible to avert, well, a conflict with the Leningrad side, that is—as the saying goes—thanks to God that that is how it went. But maybe that too was designed.

One is clear: One has to avoid any kind of unilateral actions because this can only be to our detriment at the moment and not in any way to our advantage. We are at the moment at too responsible a stage to play with fire in this irresponsible fashion.

[Paal] What does the Kaitseliit leadership say to the government?

[Vare] The Kaitseliit leadership has not said anything to the government. The Kaitseliit leadership did not even deign to inform us, while, naturally, the reaction on the part of the RSFSR was as if this had been an event sanctioned by the republic. It naturally was not. [sighs] There was not even any notification of any kind, and that once again leads one to think that there was a certain secrecy during the preparation period, which indicates that this was done with an aim in mind. I have to add also that the government stance in this respect has not been formed but evidently this stance, well, in principle still exists, and in the near future it should also be formulated in some documentary form, perhaps as a statement or something similar.

[Paal] Has the government now taken appropriate steps so that the quarrel with the neighbors will not get bigger?

[Vare] We are trying, yes but naturally this is not that easy.

Estonian Official Notes Problems in Union Talks

LD3108102290 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Interview with Ulo Nugis, head of the Estonian delegation to talks with the Soviet Union on Estonian-Soviet relations, by correspondent Jaan Radsepp; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Raudsepp] Today the second round of talks took place between the delegations of Republic of Estonia and of the Soviet Union in Moscow. At the beginning, in the course of consultative conferences, it was agreed that the talks will be closed and for this reason information about those talks is also restricted in a sense. Mr. Nugis, how would you explain this?

[Nugis] [passage omitted] Today the subject of the talks was a historical-legal analysis of the 1939-1940 events and an assessment based on these events, and the joining of Republic of Estonia into the composition of the Soviet Union. One has to say immediately, jumping ahead of events, that we did not reach an assessment, and one can sense that the USSR side is perhaps not even authorized to provide this assessment. They would like to direct this issue to the Supreme Soviet. Well, this kind of progress of events did not satisfy the Estonian side at all.

Second, one could not help but notice—at least in my view—that the USSR side was not properly prepared. I read in the faces of the experts that they were very uncomfortable, that historians with lofty academic degrees had to provide, mildly speaking, insincere talk. Only one expert representing the military-historical view claimed in a [word indistinct] straighforward fashion that there was nothing to be claimed: such had been the strategic situation and the decision in respect of incorporating the Baltic states was strategic. There are laws of their own kind during a war and the Soviet Union had to behave in this way.

In our opinion, this subject cannot be considered as having been finished. So long as an assessment has not been provided for those events it will not be possible for us to proceed to the next, already agreed, point on the agenda. If the USSR side is unable to decide this issue in a more qualified way on 6 September then I fear that the talks may either stay at a stalemate—perhaps we will have to stop and consult the Estonian Supreme Soviet; perhaps there will also be a third compromise. In any case, at present the talks are—how could one phrase it—at a turning point.

Estonian Group Wants To Restore USSR Activity

LD3108184190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The Free Estonia Association organized a conference today in Tallinn. Juri Hansen will provide details:

[passage omitted] One of the fundamental stands of the foreign policy presented by free Estonia is that Estonia's independence is only possible via a political path. Relying on international law or force is a hopeless undertaking. Estonia must become a foreign policy partner which is to be taken seriously. For this purpose one must first and foremost consolidate our foreign policy prestige.

As a precondition for this, first and foremost we must understand what kind of a world we live in and what European and American political interests are. Our political emotions and the much-discussed legal continuity are not at all that weighty in the eyes of the world as we often have thought, while feeling sorrow or admiration for ourselves. In order to achieve foreign policy prestige, one needs respectability. Only a very naive person may think that sharp criticism of leading politicians of influential Western countries for not supporting us would incite them to act according to our wishes in the future. A simple rule is valid in politics: Everybody acts while keeping in mind first and foremost the interests of their own state and people. We must remain likeable partners in any foreign contacts so that the wish for any mutually beneficial cooperation with us would remain alive. [passage omitted]

Looking east, one has to acknowledge that the USSR will cope without Estonia. The other way around is not at all thinkable, at least for the next 10 years. One has to abandon the fruitless criticism of the Soviet Union and understand that not only Moscow is to blame for our complicated relations, but we ourselves, too, as we have turned out to be incompetent in talks with the Kremlin. It would be sensible to restore active participation in USSR domestic policy in order to create preconditions, conditions and guarantees in order for Estonia to become independent. Looking at it this way, the departure of our deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet was incorrect.

Altogether we imagine that we know well the political, economic, and social processes underway in the Soviet Union. The actual situation, however, is different. Taking into account the role of the USSR for the fate of Estonia—both at present as well as after actually becoming independent—continuous scientific research should be organized on issues linked with the east.

The foreign policy theses of free Estonia are worthwhile, being the first more or less systematized foreign policy collection brought into public view. Naturally they contain much which is debatable and which needs clarification. However, a beginning is there and that must be valued, and work must be continued.

Estonian Rally Defends Workers' Interests

LD3108122490 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Today, after the end of the working day, a citywide rally took place in central Sillama Square to defend workers' interests.

There is dissatisfaction with Estonian government's social and economic policies. The events of recent weeks, as speakers noted, and the danger of remaining socially unprotected prompt serious concern in workers. Prices in Estonia are rising spontaneously, particularly prices on foodstuffs and basic commodities. Guarantees for compensation are lacking. Open speculation is in progress, with agreed and commercial prices.

Speakers called on the Estonian government to reconsider seriously the draft law on private individual income tax.

The rally adopted an address, which was sent to the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet.

Latvian Supreme Soviet on Treaty With RSFSR

LD0309165690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The Supreme Council of Latvia started work again today after the parliamentary break. One of the questions to be discussed by the deputies is the draft treaty between Latvia and Russia.

The Latvian News Agency reports that Krastins, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, announced that the signing of the treaty is being delayed until mid-September. According to him, this is not connected with the results of the meeting between Comrades Gorbachev and Yeltsin, but only with the fact that the draft document has not yet been discussed in the constitutional committee of the Russian parliament.

Latvian Citizens Invited to 3 Sep Demonstration

Riga Urges Participation

LD3108185490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Statement by the Riga Executive Committee—read by announcer]

[Text] On 29 and 30 August, with the mediation of the mass information media, USSR and Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] citizens were invited to participate in an action in Riga on 3 September in Doma Square.

This appeal was signed and distributed by the Committee for the Defense of the USSR and Latvian SSR Constitutions and Citizens' Rights, the Latvian SSR Labor Collectives' United Council, the Latvian SSR Working People's International Front, the United Committee of Armed Forces, War Veterans and Soldiers-Internationalists, and the Army's Society Movement.

The City of Riga Executive Committee announces that the mentioned public organizations have not submitted applications to the executive committees of either the Riga Council or the Kirova-Centra Rayon, as envisaged by the Latvian SSR law on organizing gatherings, meetings, street marches, and demonstrations. This mass undertaking is to be regarded as unsanctioned. Its organizers and arrangers are responsible for nonadherence ot the Latvian SSR law adopted on 28 July 1989. The City of Riga Internal Affairs Administration has been charged with the task of ensuring public order on 3 September in Doma Square, Jekaba Iela, and Jekaba Laukums.

Demands To Be Examined

LD0309093290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0430 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] As you know, in the past week, through the mediation of some press publications, several public organizations—the Committee for the Defense of USSR and Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitutions and Citizens' Rights, the Interfront, the Labor Collectives' United Committee, the 'Army Society' Movement, and others, called on citizens of the USSR and the Latvian SSR to participate in a protest action in Doma Square today. At the same time it has become clear that the venture has not been sanctioned by either the Riga City or Center Rayon Executive Committee. On Saturday, the chairman of the Supreme Council, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, met with representatives of these organizations that are expressing the demands of some groups of residents. Agreement was reached on the procedure of examining these demands at the Supreme Council and the government of the republic. We do not know what sort of plans are being hatched for today by the organizations mentioned. However, we and you will not, without a serious need, go to old Riga. We will not be curious, but will peacefully, each of us, go about our afternoon's business.

Russian Speakers Stage Protest

LD0309173690

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1415 GMT on 3 September carries a 17-minute live report by journalist Peteris Tabuns from Latvian radio studios at Doma Square in Riga, the scene of a demonstration by Russian-speaking Latvians.

Tabuns says that, despite appeals for people not to gather here, a crowd has assembled in Doma Square outside the radio studios; he estimates it at 3,000-5,000 people, not quite filling the square; technical equipment such as an army freight platform appears to have been supplied by the army, and military personnel are visible in the crowd; the speakers, he says, are representatives of organizations who have recently been making a loud fuss about people becoming second- and third-class citizens in Latvia, that it is becoming increasingly difficult for Russian speakers, and that the Supreme Council and Council of Ministers are not suitable for the people.

The organizations holding this meeting, Tabuns continues, have aired their views in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA and have protested against the Latvian Supreme Council's and local councils' failure to implement the USSR Congress resolution and president's decree concerning Latvia's declaration of independence.

Tabuns is joined by a female commentator, Vanda Zarina, secretary of the Riga city Executive Committee, who has been observing the proceedings. Tabuns notes that the speeches are taking on overtones of terror, and Zarina remarks that this constitutes incitement to hatred.

Next, Tabuns notes that Anatoliy Alekseyev is currently speaking, and that he is giving a model lesson in demagogy and hatred and he is playing on national feelings.

Tabuns says that as the meeting continues it is not necessary to go on broadcasting the commentary, nor is it technically possible to broadcast the unsanctioned meeting live, as it must be broadcast from within the studio. Listeners have been telephoning to find out what is happening, he says. Loud applause is heard for Alekseyev's speech, calling for a change of government. Tabuns concludes his live report as the speeches continue, speculating on whether the demonstrators will head for the Supreme Council or even, he remarks jocularly, try to occupy the radio studios. He promises more information in future newscasts.

Lithuanians Discuss Upcoming Moscow Conference

LD0109135490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 90

[By correspondent Valdas Kanapienis]

[Excerpts] Representatives of Lithuania's parties, movements, and political organizations gathered today at 1200 at the Central Lecturing Hall in Vilnius to discuss a very important topic: on 12 September a meeting of the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union and both Germanys on Germany's unification is to take place in Moscow. At the same time the problems concerning the elimination of the consequences of World War II will be discussed.

During the discussion on German unification, the attitude of all states on various European problems will be elucidated. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are in Europe and it is important that we are not forgotten at this meeting or that they do not talk about us without us participating. Thus, representatives of various Lithuanian parties and movements, being very concerned, discussed what actions we should take.

Petkevicius, member of the Lithuanian Mutual Aid Association, proposed that pickets should be organized in Moscow at the embassies of the countries taking part in the meeting. In his opinion, this action should be joined by our countrymen abroad by organizing pickets there. Corresponding actions should take place in Lithuania's towns.

Petras Varienavicius, the president of the Association of Lithuanian Scientific and Technical Societies, proposed that a letter of the Lithuanian public organizations should be sent to the leaders of the states taking part in the meeting.

Petras Cizikas, representative of the Committee for the Assistance of Political Prisoners proposed that a march with the cross and an action of fasting and prayer be organized in Moscow.

Vytautas Kazlauskas, representing Lithuanian communism and [word indistinct], proposed that a general strike be organized on 12 September. This proposal was not supported and other measures were proposed.

Vladimiras Beriozovas, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party, proposed that three persons from the participants in the conference should be sent to a meeting of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium, which will be held on 3 September and which will examine this topic. In the opinion of Vladimiras Beriozovas, the Supreme Councils of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia should adopt statements and hand them in to the participants in the Moscow meeting. [passage omitted]

The conference formed an organizational committee. The next meeting is to take place on 3 September in Vilnius.

Prunskiene Comments on 'Missed' Chance for Talks

LD0109223990 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] The Lithuanian prime minister, Kazimiera Prunskiene, has said today, speaking on Lithuanian TV, that Lithuania missed the favorable moment for negotiating with the Soviet Union. According to Mrs. Kazimiera Prunskiene, Lithuania should have started talks with the Kremlin at the end of July, when Mikhail Gorbachev had been in great disagreement with Boris Yeltsin. Now, said Mrs. Prunskiene, the situation has changed to the disadvantage of Lithuania. Gorbachev has come to full understanding with Yeltsin on all issues, the main interest of the two Germanys lies in their own reunification due to take place at the beginning of October, and the world is greatly concerned with the Gulf crisis. Consequently, everybody supports Gorbachev and his internal policies in order to maintain a stable political situation in the Soviet Union during the present explosive situation. Time will show, said Mrs. Kazimiera Prunskiene in conclusion, the price Lithuania is going to pay for delaying the Lithuanian-Soviet negotiations.

Preconditions for Future USSR Relations Listed

90UN2707A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 10 Aug 90 p 1

["Preconditions for Future Relations Between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR and RSFSR"]

[Text] 1. The readiness certified by the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic for negotiations with the USSR signifies a new and extremely crucial stage in the consolidation of our state. Political farsightedness and responsibility for an all-encompassing assessment of the situation which has come about are presently acquiring ever-increasing significance, as is also political resoluteness for cooperation in an effort which will lead to official recognition of the Lithuanian Republic.

2. A new political situation has taken shape in the USSR following the agreement reached between the USSR president and the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on drawing up a joint concept of the future Union market. A converging of positions between the heads of the Soviet Union and Russian Federation came to light during the working meetings of delegations headed by Prime Minister K. Prunskiene which convened in Moscow and Tallinn last week. However, spheres of jurisdiction and influence in the new Union being established have not as yet been determined. Two commissions are presently working in parallel in Moscow, drawing up concepts for transition to the Union market: formed at the direction of M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin are a joint working group and a group for further perfection of the governmental variant of this concept, as presented by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

3. The government of the Lithuanian Republic considers it acceptable in such a situation to enter into contacts with all partners having the capability to provide resources of interest to the republic and establish mutually beneficial partnership ties. The relationship to potential partners should be differentiated, in this regard. First of all, it is advisable to enter into agreement only with a partner capable of providing fairly weighty guarantees of its observance of signed agreements. Secondly, priority should be extended to a partner guaranteeing interstate ties on an equal-rights basis with the Lithuanian Republic. Expansion of these ties would also contribute to actualization of the new concept of Europe.

Specialists in the capacity of expert-observer were therefore dispatched to both commissions. Their mission consists of identifying opportunities and efforts through which Lithuania, not being a member of the Union, could maintain economic and trade ties with the Union and its members in a way most favorable to it (Lithuania), and also of contributing to the formation of an economic partnership model on a basis acceptable to all parties.

4. It is becoming more and more evident that it is the all-Union market which will become the basis for a new treaty among the present USSR republics. The government of the Lithuanian Republic believes, therefore, that treaties on economic, trade, and other cooperation with the Russian Federation, and with other USSR republics, must be based on clear political preconditions. In this regard, political documents must be published beforehand which certify recognition by the republics of the present Soviet Union of the independent Lithuanian state, following which the government of the Lithuanian

Republic may conclude treaties with these USSR republics on economic and other cooperation.

5. After preparatory discussions between the Lithuanian Republic government and leaders of the Russian Federation, the visit of a delegation of the RSFSR Council of Ministers to Vilnius is planned the middle of August with the aim of signing a treaty on economic cooperation. In the view of the Lithuanian Republic government, prior to this the independence of Lithuania could be fully acknowledged by the Russian Federation and an appropriate document adopted by the RSFSR Council of Ministers on recognition of the Lithuanian Republic.

6. The groups which are drawing up principles for the transition of the Soviet Union to a market economy will complete their work in Moscow by the fall. Agreements on economic cooperation among republics and on the all-Union market will in all likelihood be secured by a political treaty on federation, confederation, or commonwealth of new states. The government of the Lithuanian Republic believes it is necessary right now—prior to signing these political documents—that treaties be signed at negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, the RSFSR, and other members of the present USSR, which secure and confirm the status of the Lithuanian Republic as an independent state.

[Signed] Information Service of the Government of the Lithuanian Republic

Lithuanian Loyalists Meet Journalists 30 Aug

PM3108115590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Yu. Yuryev: "Out Loud"]

[Text] Yesterday a meeting was held at the CPSU Central Committee between journalists and M. Burokevicius, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (CPSU), V. Shved, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (CPSU), and J. Kuolelis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (CPSU). The guests described the situation in the republic, the events which have taken place there, and the party organizations' work under the conditions of opposition and the continuing attacks on the party. Answering journalists' questions, they voiced their attitude toward the work of the republican parliament and government and the Lithuanian "European week" organized by "Sajudis" and talked of the forms of political struggle chosen by the Communists.

In their opinion, people in Lithuania have begun to treat more soberly the decisions and actions of the republic's Supreme Soviet and government and reason has begun to prevail over emotions. This evidently does not suit the extreme radicals who are trying to destabilize the situation and thwart the talks with the center. Under these conditions the Lithuanian Communist Party considers it important to form a public opinion which would push the republic's leadership toward real steps involving a sober policy and to speak out loud about its principled stance.

Brazauskas Chairs Talks on Waste Treatment Plants

LD3109223090 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Construction of Kaunas Water and Sewage Treatment Plant facilities has not yet been started, while the Klaipeda City Biological Water Sewage treatment plans is lagging considerably behind schedule.

Today's Council of Ministers discussion, chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Algirdas Brazauskas, was dedicated to this problem.

The principal cause of the delay rests in the poor supply of materials. There is a threat that the funds alloted in the USSR budget for the current year's construction will not be used. A sum of 23 rubles [R] million had been allocated from [word indistinct) for the Klapieda Water Treatment Plant with nearly R10 million unused, as yet.

Lead Poisoning Cases Reported in Siauliai

LD3108230590

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuania at 1900 GMT on 31 August, in its regularly scheduled newscast, carries a 90-second report on "recent" cases of lead poisoning in Siauliai involving residents of a building in Baciuliai street. The announcer notes that Siauliai Sanitation and Epidemilogy staffers are currently investigating cases of lead poisoning in a residential area adjacent to Siauliai Military Airport.

Investigation results, the announcer says, have indicated high levels of concentration "in local well-water of lead and [benzipyrene], the latter classified as a highly toxic agent."

Sixty-five adults and 45 children live in this area. The fact that one of these affected is a very young baby, has raised suspicions among the medical experts and has been referred to a genetical commission for investigation, the announcer says.

The announcer notes that first aid measures have been undertaken by the municipal government, by supplying drinking water and offering building lots elsewhere, to owners of private homes in that area.

Plans are underway to move all residents from this location, as soon as possible, the report concludes.

RSFSR

Russia Convenes 2d Supreme Soviet Session 3 Sep

Upcoming Session Previewed

LD0309062890 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—The second session of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Russian Federation, the largest Union republic in the USSR, will open here on Monday.

Legislators representing Russia's 148-million population will debate for nearly four months and adopt several important legislative acts to strengthen the republic's legal and economic sovereignty and to pull it out of the deep crisis.

The present Russian parliament is very young: It was elected by the First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation last summer.

The overwhelming majority of lawmakers were elected for the first time. Therefore, they have no experience of legislative work. They were accumulating it during parliament's work, at its committees and commissions.

Slightly more than 45 days have passed since the first session of the Supreme Soviet, but bills drafted by legislators over this period show that deputies efficiently began lawmaking work.

Vice-president of the Russian parliament Boris Isayev told TASS that the government's concept for transition to a market economy would be the main item on the session's agenda.

The key report will be delivered by Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev. The concept was drafted by a joint working group set up by agreement between the leaders of the USSR and Russia.

Legislators will have to adopt bills on property, enterprises and entrepreneurial activities, protection from monopolism, a tax system and a bill on a credit and finance system, Isayev continued.

The session will also have to approve a decree on power (it was already approved in the first reading), bills on referendums, the freedom of conscience and rehabilitation of people convicted for law-protecting activities in the 1960s-1980s.

A campaign for increasing the rights of bodies of local government plays an important role in the political and economic life of Russia. Laws on the local economy, local self-government and local councils will create the legal basis for this.

According to Isayev, it is planned in December to discuss a draft state plan for Russia's social and economic development for 1991 and the republican budget.

"Everything will be radically changed in this field: In the past the centre decided everything, sending decisions and instructions to the level of republics, now republics themselves determine ways for their development and map out priorities in the economy and finance."

Isayev noted that work is in progress on a federative treaty which will determine the future setup of the Russian Federation.

Lawmakers will complete forming the cabinet where half of posts are vacant.

Great is the burden shouldered by citizens of the Russian Federation. The session will have to reply to the key question: What way will ensure the efficient development of Russia's economy and raise the well-being of its people.

'Major Decisions' Expected

LD0309061490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Literally at this moment the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session is beginning its work in Moscow. The deputies will examine questions concerning the stabilization of the economy and the transfer to the market, and they are also to confirm laws on referendums, local self-administration in industry, enterprise, freedom of conscience, and others. The peasantry and all Russian society is expecting major decisions from their representatives in the agricultural sphere.

Economic Reform To Be Discussed

LD0309064490 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—The Russian parliament began its second session here today to discuss and enact a number of bills aimed to steer the Russian Republic out of its deep social and economic crisis.

The bicameral legislature of the 150-million-strong republic is also expected to consider a blueprint for economic reform drafted by a group of experts, in line with an agreement between President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian Premier Ivan Silayev.

The session is to have a short break in mid-November for an emergency Russian Congress of People's Deputies to discuss the revival of the countryside and the development of the agro-industrial sector.

The session is expected to end in December.

65 Proposals Listed on Agenda

LD0309092990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 3 September broadcasts a five-minute live report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] House of Soviets, where the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has resumed its work.

Ruvinskiy reports that the second session got under way at 1000 Moscow time. "Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin opened the session with a short introductory speech. He remarked that, regrettably, the standard of living for people in the republic is continuing to fall, irrespective of the way in which each person works," Ruvinskiy says. He called on the People's Deputies to work dynamically.

Ruvinskiy says that in the two hours of the work so far, some 70 deputies have put forward 65 proposals on the agenda for the session. These include proposals on bringing in the harvest. "One deputy even tabled the proposal that Russia should be put on a war footing in this connection, and that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin should be appointed commander in chief!"

Other proposals spoke of the need to defend Russia's state sovereignty, to regulate relations with the central authorities, and to set up a Russian pension fund. Ruvinskiy states that "it was mentioned that at a local level, in many krays and oblasts, the decisions against combining official posts are being ignored, and there is even a tendency to sabotage the decisions passed by the Supreme Soviet."

Ruvinskiy continues, saying that it has been decided by a vote to accept the original agenda for the four months of the session as a basis. Accordingly, after the break that is now in progress, the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers's report on the concept for economic reform in the Russian Federation is to be delivered.

Other issues to be decided are the remainder of the ministerial appointments, the decree on power, legislation governing the work of people's deputies, and the rehabilitation of people convicted in the 1960s and 1970s for human rights activity. Ruvinskiy concludes: "There are more than 30 points on the agenda that has been adopted, but even today it has become quite clear that there is no chance of restricting it to those—some additional points will have to be added to the agenda. Moreover, points which cannot be put off."

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 3 September broadcasts another three-minute report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session.

Ruvinskiy reports that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session will continue until 27 December, with short breaks during which deputies will be able to meet their constituents, and a break from 19 November to 1 December for a Congress of People's Deputies to be held.

Yeltsin Delivers Opening Speech

LD0309212290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1740 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Speech by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), opening the proceedings at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 3 September in the RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow; from the "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] The second session of the republic's Supreme Soviet is starting its work.

I believe that the deputies have used the break in the Supreme Soviet's work, the parliamentary holidays, fruitfully. They have seen Russia and the lives of its citizens with fresh eyes; with the eyes of statesmen whom the people have entrusted to manage their very large and rich state at a crucial period of its history. We know that there are virtually no successful areas or territories left in the republic. We know that the problems that concern the individual directly and that determine his situation and his state of being are the most neglected and aggravated. We know—and I became convinced of this once again during my tour of Russia—that poverty and even destitution are a widespread phenomenon. And the standard of living is continuing to fall. The most intolerable thing is that it bears almost no relation to how and how much a person works. We know that the people are increasingly disappointed in and tired of the proclaimed course toward restructuring socialism, as well as too many unsubstantiated hopes and negative results.

We must be very clear about the extremely low starting point from which we are obliged to begin our work today. The situation that our country finds itself in demands not just the taking of extraordinary measures. More is needed. Today there is an urgent necessity to substantially revise much of what we have used in our political practice and renounce the false reference points that are dragging out the death-throes of the totalitarian system. In essence we are beginning the work of drawing up and implementing a new political course, the course toward reviving Russia. The past five years have merely strengthened in all of us the conviction that this is necessary. It is important for us to rid ourselves as soon as possible of diktat from the center and to transfer from an ideologized economy to an efficient economy.

The essence of our economic policy is to recreate the powerful machinery for its self-development which was formerly destroyed, such as the market, competition, business accounting, etc. Their effects will make it possible to switch it over to the implementation of the requirements of the individual and society. We must adopt a new constitution, and human rights stand at the forefront; we must implement a complex treaty process along with the other republics to create a new union.

Complex work to harmonize the interests of all the peoples of Russia also lies ahead. It is important for us not to repeat the aleady well-known mistakes in the sphere of national relations, not to put off until tomorrow the tackling of urgent problems, to take half-steps forward where we need to take two or three paces, or to take up a position of frontal confrontation with national movements. National problems can be tackled only by recognizing the rights of autonomies to determine their status themselves and to decide which part of the powers of authority they intend to implement themselves and which part to transfer to the Russian Supreme Soviet. I have spoken about this at meetings on more than one occasion, and I have perceived understanding and support for this position. We also intend to exploit all opportunities to furnish the citizens of Russia with constitutional rights irrespective of their place of abode; in the RSFSR, in other republics, or abroad.

Yes, the current situation is a very complex one, but there should be no panic or confusion. The most important and most valuable thing that we possess is the credit of trust of our tired and exhausted people. When I appealed for the support of the citizens of our republic during my trip, I invariably obtained it. People expressed confidence in the new Russian organs of power—the Supreme Soviet, the government, the leadership. The republic's population supports our first steps, and first of all those for strengthening Russia's sovereignty and independence. It is also important that the people are ready for changes, they are expectng them. At many meetings the working people asked for one thing: Give us independence, as much independence as possible, and we shall do the rest ourselves. In my view this is the most important change in the public mood.

The last session also showed that the Supreme Soviet knows how to operate harmoniously and effectively. The deputies are capable of not being absolutist in their positions and of making reasonable compromises for the sake of their common interests and general harmony.

There is another factor too. On the whole, a more realistic course has taken shape in the center's policies over the recent period. Russia is providing powerful stimuli for the processes of renewal throughout the country. Along with the other republics, it is prompting the Union organs to more resolute action. The most important thing is that the center can no longer ignore this and cast aside everything we are doing. There is an increasing perception of a desire to understand and to look into what we are proposing and to act jointly. This was also confirmed by my recent five-hour conversation with President Gorbachev.

And at last a new system of Soviet power has been formed and is taking its first steps in the republic. This is a very important and positive factor. The soviets should and, I am convinced, can become our buttress in the implementation of radical reforms. You see, we are with you. By adopting a law at this session on local soviets, self-management and local economy, we shall assist them to grow stronger and to find effective forms of activity.

Strong authority is required to implement our course and to stabilize the situation in the republic. But this does not mean a return to the times of lawlessness and arbitrariness and the restriction of citizens' rights and liberties. The strength of authority lies in the efficient functioning of all of its component structures. It adopts decisions in contemplation and in accordance with contemporary needs and prospects for development. The strength of authority lies in conducting a political course consistently and persistently. And, finally, the strength of authority lies in its being successful. Laws that are adopted should work and decisions should be carried out. And we shall implement these principles persistently.

The events of recent days as well as an analysis of the materials from my trip have required amendments in the work of the Supreme Soviet and have determined the following main task for the second session.

At this session we must discuss and adopt a program for restoring the health of the Russian economy. You know that this runs in the same channel as the Union program, and could become the economic foundation for the signing of an economic agreement between the republics. To discuss it, we intend to hold a conference of the economic experts and business people of the republic; their comments and corrections must, like yours, be taken into account. By the decisions of this session, we must rid the enteprises of the diktat of the center; change the tax system and erect a barrier against monopoly; and pass a Russian law on the enterprise and business. Urgent measures must be taken on the agro-industrial sector; above all a program for reviving the Russian countryside, a land code, and a law on the peasant farm. It is necessary to pass a package of laws on the activities of the Soviets and deputies; and to continue the work on the Constitution and the Union and federal treaties. It is the task of our session to lay a firm foundation for our movement. Russia must receive from us a package of fundamental laws on the most important areas of life. The destinies and the hopes of millions of people depend on us; and I call on you to work dynamically and creatively.

Silayev Talks on Economic Reform

LD0309223290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1740 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Speech by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Council of Ministers, at the 3 September session of the RSFSR Supreme in RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow; from the "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] Respected comrade chairman, respected members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation: The fifth year in the process of the renewal of society, democratization, and political transformations in all spheres of our life is coming to an end. And whereas the program of transformations proclaimed in 1985 and the principles proposed for implementing them evoked enthusiasm and hope in the working people, then in the future, as a consequence of terrible blunders, mistakes, errors, and the indeterminate nature of the decisions adopted—which occurred largely owing to the incompetence of the leading management—we found ourselves in a deep economic and social crisis, on the brink of chaos. As a result, the people have been overcome by universal disappointment; not believing in any kind of authorities, programs, decisions, and laws, and hence protests, strikes, various forms of disobedience with regard to the authorities, and interethnic quarrels ensued.

The economic crisis being experienced by the country is only part of the general crisis of the social and economic system, including that of the national and state system and of ideology. It has finally revealed the lack of viability of the social structures that have taken shape. One cannot say that the Union government has not tried to take measures in an attempt to manage the situation that has been created, issuing various types of instructions and decisions, but as a rule they were not properly thought through to a profound extent, not economically founded, and that further aggravated a serious situation in society, which was bad enough as it was.

Especially destructive were the consequences of the monetary, financial, and credit policy. It played the main part in the collapse of the consumer market, in devaluing the ruble and in the accumulation of an extremely large domestic state debt.

The old system of management, which did not have many of its own organizational structures, had particularly serious consequences for Russia, as the republic that had the least rights, and for its multinational system. Today, the Supreme Soviet of Russia is to make the decisive choice on which the fate of many millions of our fellow countrymen of the future Russian republic will depend. The extraordinary nature of the situation not only involves the unprecedented heating up of passions and emotions that have overwhelmed the country; not only the loss of manageability and initiative; not only the extremely profound economic crisis; the total shortage of foodstuffs and goods; but the fact that only a fundamentally new, highly comprehensible, convincing, realistic program for getting out of the crisis, based on the social protection of people, can be supported by the people. That is the task that was set, first in the relevent instruction signed by Comrades Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, and Silayev, and then also in the order of the president of the USSR. In them it was written:

For the purposes of drafting an agreed concept of the program of transition to a market economy, as the foundation of the economic part of a Union treaty, taking maximum account of everything positive that has already been accumulated during the drafting and discussion of the drafts of similar documents, and above all the Russian program now being drafted, and the proposals coming from Union republics, we consider it necessary: to form a working group for drafting the concept of the program of transition to the market economy as the basis of a Union treaty; to include in the composition of the group plenipotentiary representatives of the governments of the Union republics; to permit, if necessary, the recruitment of scientists and experts regardless of institution and department in which they work, for participation in the work on the concept; to instruct the working group to draft the concept of the program by 1 September 1990; to make it incumbent on all ministries and departments, organizations and institutions, to make available to the group all the necessary economic and other special information without restruction. Direct supervision of the work of the group will be carried out by Comrades Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

I wish to remind you that the first document was signed by the four on 27 July and the order of the president was signed on 2 August. I would like to explain why the said documents suddenly made their appearance. First, because a month before the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian Federation the insolvency of the government program whose draft was being completed became evident. And second, the drafts of the group of economists led by Comrade Yavlinksiy now deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, which were then being proposed, might really become the basis on which a real, effective, all-state program could be created.

In its generalized form this draft assumed the form of the concept of the program known under the name of 400 days. I want to show you it. It is published in the original version—the 400 days program. Basically, work on it was completed in February of the current year. Then it underwent an extremely authoritative international flexibility study and received a high appraisal, that is, essentially, it was certified on an international scale. Naturally, in the course of the last month the working group under the leadership of academician Shatalin completed work on it in an all-around and profound manner, made the necessary adjustments, which enabled the program to be raised to a new level and made it suitable for practical application. I wish to point out that all the authors of the 400 days concept belonged to the working group of Comrade Shatalin.

And a further feature: For the first time in our country, work on a document of such a scale proceeded absolutely openly. Hundreds of scientists and experts were involved in it along with dozens of institutes. With the help of the leadership of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic vast material from foreign experiences was received. Plenipotentiary representatives of all Union republics except Estonia, who were continually in Sosny, took a direct part in the work of the group.

Huge interest in the new program has been displayed by workers' collectives from various zones and various collectives. Representatives of the group met the Confederation of Labor, as a result of which a whole number of strike committees and workers' committees also sent their representatives to the group.

In some sense it can be said that the ideas and approaches to their implementation contained in the program underwent feasibility studies from those for whom they were in fact being created and to whom they were addressed. As far as it is known, the representatives reviewing the work on the program—I refer to the representatives of the working groups—on the whole expressed confidence in this document. Of course, there were difficulties, not only objective ones, such as the extremely tight schedule and the complexity of the problem. The group was placed in a most difficult position because, despite direct indications from the president of the USSR, questions from the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the appeal from Comrade Shatalin, it never received many important factual materials from USSR ministries and departments.

It is not difficult to guess that this list is headed by those who are now more and more vocal about respect for discipline and the law—above all the Finance Ministry, the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank], the State Planning Committee, the Defense Ministry, and other central departments. All this, of course, has made itself felt as far as the work in hand is concerned. Work to elaborate the tactic and the strategy of action to get the country out of the crisis and ways to implement radical economic reforms was under way nonstop, simultaneously with the drawing up of the program itself. The program, in its final form, has been submitted for your examination.

I wish to clarify right away the difference between the 400-day program and the 500-day program. The thing is that this program—and you will see it in the contents—this 400-day program ends with a level at which the economy has been stabilized. The 500-day program, that is to say the subsequent 100-day period, provides for a start being made to get economic development well underway.

Now, before I start setting out the main sections of the program, I want to stress that it has been drawn up with the participation of the Union republics which have issued their own declarations of independence—in connection with which the program contains certain compromises that must be taken into account when analyzing and evaluating it.

The Government of Russia is of the view that moving toward a way out of the crisis and toward stabilization of the economic situation demands joint action and general consensus being attained. It is our view that before a new Union treaty is concluded it is essential to halt any destructive actions and to adopt a concerted program of measures to stabilize the economic, social, and political situation in the country. These measures should be implemented at the same time and in unison with an active transition to a regulated market economy. That is why elaboration of the principles for setting up an economic alliance of sovereign states as the basis for creating an all-Union market is one of the main sections of the program. It is the aim of the economic union to guarantee prosperity for the whole people, to develop and enrich the cultures of nationalities, to implement the principles of universal human values through the setting up of an effective market economy and the economic integration of republics, based exclusively on mutual interests and equal partnership.

The starting principle is that a Union republic is the main subject of state regulation of the economy. It is precisely the republics that form independently the structure of national economy management, create the budget and taxation systems, carry out the land reform, pursue their own agrarian and housing policies, and determine the social welfare systems for the population. It is precisely the republics that, on the basis of mutual consent, delegate powers to the Union bodies of government created by them; powers to exercise leadership over those areas of activity which objectively demand that a uniform economic policy is pursued. The extent of these powers is limited. Fiscal resources set aside by all republics to finance the all-Union program are, likewise, limited. Making use of the Union budget to implement only those programs in which all republics are interested will make it possible to sharply reduce unnecessary expenditure. A list of the powers delegated to the Union bodies of government and also a list of the corresponding articles of the Union budget dealing with expenditure is to be found in this section of the program.

The main directions of the common economic policy and the relevant laws were also being elaborated by all republics. The principle of constructing the pyramid of the state bodies in charge of managing the economy that is being used is completely different from the one that was used before. The pyramid is being constructed not from top to bottom, but from the foundations upward. It is the local authorities that form this foundation and they will have powers to regulate those types of economic activities which can only be regulated on the level of oblasts, towns, and rayons. It is there that specific methods are worked out, the deadlines for carrying out the housing and land reforms are defined, the work is organized to privatize enterprises, trade, consumer services, motor vehicle transport, small and medium enterprises of industry and construction. Those same problems of economic development that local authorities are, in principle, unable to solve—budget, taxation policy, price regulation, structural changes, and others—are coming within the competence of the republic.

This restructuring of administrative functions according to the from-the-bottom-up principle is also strengthened by the redistribution of budget resources in favor of local authorities, and by a significant increase in the latter's responsibility. It seems to us that the powers of authorities of any major administrative formation within the RSFSR, be it an oblast, a kray, or authonomous republic, should be identical in the sphere of the economy and defined by economic expediency, the interests of people, and the interests of enterprises. The autonomies should enjoy broad opportunities for the development of national cultures and language, but I do not think it is worthwhile to attach to the very concept of autonomy significant specific features of a territory's economic regime.

Yet another fundamental matter: How do we see the new union? Do we need it? After all, it is no secret that the formula of 15-plus-nil, which leaves the center with no serious role at all, has become widespread. What I mean is do we need a new union, from the point of view of the central bodies, naturally.

I can say with confidence that we do need the center but not today's center, which is causing centrifugal tendencies through its actions. A new center is needed, created by all the republics on principles of parity and functioning in the interests of the people of the republics. We sense a need for joint actions to find a way out of the crisis, to support economic ties between republics. We need the coordination of actions in virtually all areas of economic policy. We are too poor to allow ourselves today additional expenditure on the introduction of our own currencies, customs, borders, and so on. And joint work on the program has shown that its implementation from this year will give all the republics a real chance of stabilization and, subsequently, an improvement in the economic situation.

Let's be realists. The success of the comprehensive economic reform is imposible without the coordination of the actions of all the republics, without the elaboration of unified principles, the content and time-scale of the transformations. What is being proposed in this connection? The program for the transition to a market economy put before you should become the basis of the coordinated actions of the member states of an economic union, while model drafts of legislative and normative acts worked out on the basis of the program may be used during the preparation of corresponding republican legislation.

However, this program alone, even though it has been worked out in detail, is insufficient. Organizational structures capable of bringing it into being are need. For this reason, a new structure of Union-level economic management bodies is proposed. It is cited in your material on page 204a. There you will find no place for countless Union ministries of industries, neither will you find there various other departments that are today creating a serious obstacle to tackling the main, or one of the main tasks—namely granting enterprises a high degree of economic independence.

An interrepublican economic committee is being set up. It is being formed on the basis of equal representation of the republics and directly manages the preparation and carrying out of economic reform measures. This body is directly subordinate to the USSR president and for the period of the program's implementation directs the work of other departments.

Union-level bodies administering individual spheres of economic activity are themselves also being reorganized. The republics will gain the opportunity to participate directly in working out the economic policy of the Union through their representatives in the Interrepublican Economic Committee, jointly managing the reserve system of the Union and other bodies of Union-level administration.

A significant role in coordinating the interests of all the republics is being assigned to the negotiation process. At the same time, as an agreement on the setting up of an economic union, the preparation and adoption of a series of agreements is also envisaged on specific areas of economic policy. Evidently, in the future such a method for resolving various interrepublican matters will become the rule.

Comrade deputies, let me say a few words about the fundamental features of the program presented to you. While drawing up the program for the transition to a market, its authors tried to ensure that it was addressed directly to every person, not in the textual sense, but in the sense of the essence of the planned measures. This is not only a scheme of action for the government, but also a proposed platform for activity by all working people. It is precisely people acting in accordance with their own interests rather than with the government instructions who must become the main motive force of reform. Citizens, and associations formed by them, are offered a whole package of rights to engage in any economic activities other than those prohibited by law. The state provides all essential juridical guarantees, right up to changes in the criminal and administrative codes, to protect people's economic activities just as much from unfair competition as from organized crime.

It goes without saying that some very interesting suggestions have been voiced here today when we were agreeing on the agenda. This concerns laws on the inviolability of private property. The material basis for implementing rights to economic freedom resides in the process of slackening state control and privatization of state property. People are offered the opportunity to participate independently in economic processes, and to acquire, on a collective basis if they wish, bakeries, laundries, shops, shoe-making workshops, and other small enterprises, in which the state should have no part whatsoever in the future. Large- and medium-sized enterprises will issue shares. Housing and land reform will make it possible to buy or rent houses, apartments, and land. Slackening of state control and privatization will proceed according to principles envisaging the involvement of broad strata of working people, a variety of forms and approaches, division of the functions of management and ownership, and antimonopoly charging arrangements.

It is the republics that represent the fundamental guarantor and initiator of all these measures. The load on local soviets, too, will sharply increase, enabling maximum consideration to be given in the course of implementing the reforms to specific conditions and peculiarities of each territorial area, and which is in keeping with the striving for freedom and independence in the activities of republican and local organs of authority.

The crisis in the economy manifests itself especially acutely in the social sphere, which over recent years has been suffering simultaneously from both the senseless command-administrative system and new-fangled fragmentary reform, and also from the dragging-out of serious well-founded transformations. The result is plain: a worsening of living conditions for practically all groups in the population. For this reason very high demands will naturally be made of that segment of the program dealing with social affairs.

What did those who drew it up take as their starting point? In the first place, the need to be able to mobilize all available state resources and possibilities for tackling social problems during the reform period was taken as a basic tenet. Their second premise was that current living standards for people are extremely low, not to say at poverty level, for the majority of the population. In the third place, analysis showed that making the transition to market relations not only is it not appropriate to remove existing social welfare guarantees, rather, real justification, is apparent for actually reinforcing such guarantees, for giving them new and real content and strengthening their financial basis. In addition, the program envisages the introduction of a whole series of new social guarantees substantially supplementing the system of social protection currently in force.

A feature of the program is the fact that both those social guarantees currently in force and those being newly introduced are adapted to market mechanisms and are able to respond flexibly to a whole complex of changing conditions. In short, this program which you have in your hands is not simply about the transition to market mechanisms of economic relations. It involves a significantly more serious task—that of forming a socially oriented economy, of moving away from declarations about social priorities toward a mechanism for implementing them. The essence of such mechanisms lies in a variety of forms of property enjoying equal rights, in the decentralized management of production and the provision, through the market, of equal chances, in effective economic freedom when it comes to making decisions, and in having property and income from it fully at one's disposal.

The other side of the program offered—this program of freedom—is that of personal responsibility of each for his own family, for the collective in which he works, and for the society in which he lives. This means that under the program raising the standard of his labor activities becomes the main guarantee for a worker of an increase in his standard of living. And the effectiveness of the system as a whole creates the prerequisites for the maximum possible level of well-being at a given stage. It is namely this ideology that lies at the basis of all the proposed measures.

Comrade deputies, during the whole month that was alloted to the elaboration of the program under the leadership of Comrades Gorbachev and Yeltsin, both the mass media and the public frequently raised questions: What is the essence of the program, how does it differ from the program prepared by the Union government? The strict time limits did not allow those elaborating the program to communicate seriously with the press and the television. Society did not receive an answer. That stirred up interest even more and even gave rise to various kinds of rumors.

In this connection, allow me to dwell briefly upon the fundamental questions. Is there a difference between the programs that are being elaborated and what they consist of? We intended that after the instructions had been signed and Shatalin's group had been organized, the work should be carried out in a coordinated way and that the tasks should supplement each other. However, in parallel with the work of the presidential group, the Union government continued to work on perfecting its program. The discussions that took place on 21 August between members of the working group and Comrade Ryzhkov, head of the government, and with his deputy, Comrade Abalkin, revealed deep and fundamental differences in the approaches to solving the main problem, in the principles of the country's transition to the market.

The draft prepared by the USSR Government of the program to form the structure and mechanism for regulating the market economy, which we received yesterday—an initial analysis of it shows that recently the government introduced a number of amendments to its position. Thus, for the first time, in a draft of such a kind, in a government document, I quote word for word: The right to private property is rehabilitated and openly recognized. Moreover, it is deemed essential to introduce, already today, a firm restriction on the debit items of the budget, including the expenses of the USSR Defense Ministry which are reduced additionally by 5 billion rubles [R].

The approach to the proposed program and to the mutual relations between the center and the republics has changed considerably. Undoubtedly, the two documents are formally similar. The same problems are raised in both of them—the economic relations between the center and the republic, the improvement of finances, the reform of price formation, social guarantees, and so forth.

But, and this should be particularly stressed, serious and fundamental differences remain in the approaches to solving all these questions. First of all, the program presented for your attention, as has already been stressed, is a program of the jointly agreed actions of every citizen of the country and of the leadership of the republics. Society and the government adopt the set rules of the game in advance. Every person knows when and what will be undertaken by the government of the republics and takes part in the social process in conformity with his interests.

In the draft proposed by the USSR Goverment the main characters are, as before, the bodies of government administration at various levels.

The approach of both programs to the problems of mutual economic relations of the republics is also fundamentally different. If the government interprets it as mutual relations between the USSR and the sovereign republics, and proceeds from the premise that sovereign rights of the republic, I quote, may be fully brought into operation after the conclusion of a Union treaty, then Shatalin's group regards the question of mutual relations between the republic and the center, right from the very start, independently of the schedules for the conclusion of a Union treaty.

Moreover, a draft has been proposed of an economic agreement, which was agreed in the course of the work with representatives of the Union republics; I have already spoken about the principles of this. We do not yet have that document in our hands today. But it will be ready by 1300. That is the third section of the economic reform program and it will be handed out to you.

The draft submitted to you singles out as especially important the stabilization of the current economic situation in the country and the reduction of the budget deficit. The program we have proposed defines with precision the ways to reduce this deficit and this also includes measures that are not traditional for our country, including such nontraditional measures for our country as cutting back on military orders and expenditure of the Defense Ministry and the KGB.

Apart from that, it is proposed that broad use be made of the state's reserves, the ones that are there for everyone to see and the ones that, for the time being, remain hidden from view; and that facilities, the construction of which has not been completed or where equipment has not been installed, are sold in order to tie up surplus money. What is of particular importance is the fact that it is proposed, by legislative means, to eliminate the uncontrolled credits extended by the State Bank to finance budget allocations.

In its turn, the government offers the standard set of vague methods of combating the budget deficit through the State Planning Committee and, in the final analysis, it sets the task of attaining the 1990 budget deficit within the limits as defined by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Our program defies with precision the specific measures and the deadlines for implementing them, especially during the course of the first stage of the reform aimed at stabilizing things. It defines the goals of specific stages, and this makes it possible for society not only to participate, but also to control the course of the implementation of the program.

As for the Union government, it is making consistent use of the practice of annual plans and confines itself to setting the tasks for the year in a general form. The Union government suggests that the transition to the market should start by an administrative increase in the retail and wholesale prices on the entire range of goods, including consumer goods, reducing, it is true, the size of the increase here from R199 billion to R135 billion and envisaging a lowering of prices on a range of goods in the cultural and domestic bracket and in the light industry bracket. And it is only from 1992 that it is suggested that a gradual reduction of the sphere of state regulation of prices on manufactured articles, goods, and services of commence. Consequently, the prospect of the development of normal market relations is being put back till 1992.

As for the program that has been submitted for your consideration, it proceeds from the fact that the state does not only renounce the administrative increase of retail prices of consumer goods, but envisages a system of measures that rules out prices increases on essential goods. The transition to the market, from our viewpoint, should commence with radical measures aimed at financial stabilization, strengthening the ruble, something that will become the decisive condition for freeing prices. It is our view that by the time the program has run its course, the proportion of free prices should amount to between 70 and 80 percent.

The principles of extending economic independence to the subjects of production remain uncompromising. Our program proceeds from the necessity of eliminating, by January 1991, the ministries in charge of various branches of the economy, except for the ones the republics have stipulated in the economic agreement.

The scheme for the marketing of property proposed by the Union government through the recently set up State Property Fund essentially makes it possible to preserve the existing management system, since one of its provisions states that the State Property Fund can extend the rights to manage property to other management bodies as it sees fit. What this will mean in practice is obvious.

Fundamental differences also remain where the drafts of the program for banking and fiscal policy reforms are concerned. The program submitted to you envisages that a council of chairmen of republican banks should be given the leading role in the credits and banking system. It envisages the creation of a Union reserve system which should be taken out of government control. The USSR Government program, however, confirms the leading role of the USSR State Bank and its subordination, as before, to the Union government.

While in the area of financial policy, we propose the development above all, of commercial credits. The Union government program bears a clear fiscal character—the maximum drawing in of resources into the

Union budget through taxes, payments, and contributions. Controlling the state indebtedness, halting unwarranted printing of money, and strengthening the ruble turn out to be on the periphery of this policy and practically fail to be taken into account.

Thus the materials submitted by the Union government do contain certain elements of renewal and here and there have something in common with the program of Shatalin's group.

However, deep contradictions remain in fundamental questions that define the sense of the reform and approaches to its realization.

Comrade deputies, a couple of words about the necessary conditons for the realization of the program. Reorganizations that open up the way for the development of market relations and ensure obvious improvement in the economy and life of people are expected to be realized in a period that amounts to 500 days. These deadlines have been brought about by two circumstances. On the one hand, the carrying out of reforms in a tighter period of time would have required far more radical and tough measures and, practically, it is not really possible. On the other hand, the state of our economy excludes the possibility of defining more long-winded deadlines. In these deadlines we have to justify the trust expressed by Russia's people in the Supreme Soviet and the government during Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's trip around the republic. But for the realization of the whole complex of measures—sometimes of rather tough ones—we need the trust of the people and of people's deputies who represent it here. The realization of the reform is a very complex and subtle process. It is possible that in the course of its implementation, the economy will not once be at the dangerous edge of the developoment of unruly processes. By the way, in these instances, the program envisages additional subsidiary variants. Careless actions in such situations can bring about profound consequences. That's why the government addresses Russia's people's deputies by putting forward a suggestion to act in unison, close cooperation supporting and complementing each other. Our opinion is that in this period we have to abstain from the adoption of legal acts and directives, any actions that can in one way or another negatively affect the course of implementation of the program.

Esteemed people's deputies, now some words about the order of the coming work and how we see the passage of this document. According to the existing agreement between the president of the USSR and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the program this week will be discussed not only by us in the Supreme Soviet but also obviously no less actively in debates by the Union government at the USSR presidency. After the completion of these discussions, as was indeed decided at the joint session of the presidential Council and Council of the Federation, the program will be sent to the republics for examination by their appropriate supreme soviets.

I think that in keeping with the results of our discussion it would be expedient, in addition to our expressing our attitude to the program, to ask the supreme soviet of the republics to conduct this work with maximum speed in order to coordinate activity for its implementation and start on its fulfillment as soon as possible.

On leaving the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation, the leaders of the republics were precisely of this inclination and they are awaiting the materials that have been distributed to you today so that they can work on them and submit them to the supreme soviets of their republics. And this question is very important, the discussion of the basis of this program at the supreme soviets of the Union republics.

If you look at the second section of the materials that you have, that is, the meaning of the bills and other legislative acts which need to be examined and adopted in order to implement this program, you will see that out of the 21 bills, 16 bills are Union republic bills. This reflects the arrangement that the basic processes of preparation and entry into market relations will take place in the republics and will be actively developed at all levels of the republics, and only five or six bills relate to the Union level. That is why we consider that the adoption of this program with the relevant clarifications, addenda, the conclusion of a Union economic treaty will essentially signify a process of discussion, support, and adoption of the foundations of this program. Then, essentially, there will remain the adoption of these bills on a Union scale and the issue of the presidential decree on the introduction of these programs in real life.

I would like to address both the presidium and you, esteemed comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. When forming and determining definitively both the agenda and the priority order of these or those laws or other acts that are being submitted, please bear in mind—and we are addressing this demand to you—that this program which you are going to discuss starting from tomorrow and, perhaps, for several days, is not in itself an exhaustive program without this, very serious package of legislative acts which you will see in section two, in volume two, on the whole, of this set of documents; it is such precisely only in interaction with the implemented, adopted draft laws. They contain, in essence, a mechanism of implementation, a mechanism of action, of coming into being of the main principles of this program within short time limits. This is why we are addressing the demand to examine attentively this package of programs and to find a possibility to sort them out, discuss them, and to adopt them with certain amendments within short time limits.

I would like to recall, esteemed comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, comrade people's deputies of the republic, that we intend to start counting these 500 days from 1 October of this year by a program for adopting certain extraordinary measures already in the last, the fourth quarter of this year and the beginning of next year. These are the first 100 days—pay attention to them, you have them in your documents, they are clearly defined, and only under such conditions—excuse me for importunity—when we are armed with draft laws, this program will be successfully mobilized.

Esteemed comrades, I have reported only the main approaches to the formation of the program, its ideology, principles, and structure. You will find all the documents that you are interested in and detailed answers to questions in full, on all sections in the draft programs and the draft laws that are at your disposal. I have already said that during the lunch break today you will receive section three of the program as a separate section. This is a draft economic agreement. It is extremely important to us especially today when complex processes related to the completion of the year are under way. There are many points that are unclear to enterprises of various levels in all regions concerning the beginning of next year. This section, this draft economic agreement, not only answers the question on what to do but also determines the actions that are to be taken. We have grounds to state that this draft agreement which has been developed practically jointly by republics is ready for signing but, naturally, the leaders of republics and their supreme soviets need sanctions, and it would be very important to examine and adopt this draft economic agreement somewhat ahead of time, somewhat ahead of other documents. We are waiting for your remarks and proposals so that within the next few days, as soon as the documents are ready, we can introduce these necessary amendments into a final version and submit it for approval by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Yeltsin Closes 3 Sep Session

LD0309230790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1740 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Speech by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin closing the 3 September session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic RSFSR in the RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow; from the "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, the following procedure is proposed: We close the session with this today and give each people's deputy the opportunity to study these documents carefully; that we then spend three days—4, 5, and 6 September—discussing these documents in committees and commissions; that on 7 September, and if we don't manage it, then on 8 September, we examine and confirm at the session of the Supreme Soviet the leaders who are joining the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and that only on 10 September, at the Supreme Soviet session, we should discuss this program, as it were, and, accordingly, the draft economic agreement. Well, the discussion will show me how much time we shall need—one day or two. What is your attitude to this proposal for considering these very important documents. Do you agree? [sounds of approval]

And so the session's work will begin on 7 September at 0930 [0530 GMT] in accordance with our approved procedure for the session's work. Goodbye.

First Day of Supsov Reviewed

LD0309165290 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary corrspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow 3 September TASS—The Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Russian Federation, the Soviet Union's largest constituent republic, opened its second session here today.

In the first half of the day, the parliament's two chambers—the council of the republic and the council of nationalities—held a joint meeting.

In his opening remarks to the second session, Russian President Boris Yeltsin called for the early adoption of a programme for Russian Economic recovery.

He said economic reform should free local enterprises from central diktat, alter the taxation system, and ensure a "transition from an ideology-ridden economy to an efficiency-driven economy."

Then the session was addressed by Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, who presented a blueprint for radical economic reform.

He said the nation's economic crisis was part of the overall crisis of its socio-economic system, including ethnic arrangements and ideology.

Silayev then described the reform plan, drawn up by a group of experts under academician Stanislav Shatalin to steer the country's economy out of the crisis.

The plan was prepared under an accord between Soviet and Russian leaders.

Silayev said the Shatalin programme offered a real chance to stabilise and improve the economic situation.

In the afternoon, parliamentarians worked in committees and commissions. During the next few days, they will discuss the Russian Government's economic programme and candidates for the remaining 13 vacancies in the 26-member cabinet.

The next plenary session of the two chambers is expected to be held on Friday.

Yeltsin Holds News Conferences 1 and 3 Sep

Discusses Tour, Gorbachev Meeting

LD0109221390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1455 GMT 1 Sep 90

[News conference by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman, with Valentina Alekseyevna

Lantseva as moderator, at the House of Soviets in Moscow on 1 September—recorded]

[Text] [Lantseva] The main topic of today's news conference is the outcome of the working tour of Russia by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. But other questions may also be asked about problems of topical concern.

[Yeltsin] It was a lengthy tour lasting 22 days and taking in eight regions of Russia. with visits to 27 towns, both large and small, from Moscow to Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and the Kurils. It was of significance in order to prepare for the second session of the Russian Supreme Soviet and, of course, to get an idea of how the people of Russia reacted to the First Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. I wanted to get a feel of the situation from below, to feel the mood, find out about the problems, meet people—workers, specialists, chairmen of local soviets at various levels, and other leaders. In total, I had five, six, seven, or eight such meetings every day in various collectives, kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], both in the fields and in animal farms, and all these... and on a ship, a submarine, a motor vessel, in an aircraft and a helicopter. So the settings were varied, including the roof overhang of a building! The meetings varied from 10-12 people to 15, to hundreds, 500, 1,000, 1,500, and up to 40,000. Overall, I think approximately around 300,000 people took part in total.

The route was Tataria—I'm generalizing here—Bashkiria, Komi, including Vorukuta and the Yuzhnaya mine, with five hours in the mine itself, then back to Moscow for 24 hours to hold a session with the group that Gorbachev and I had approved to prepare the all-Union program of stabilization of the economy and transition to the market; then once again to the Kuzbass, Maritime Kray, Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Sakhalin, the Kurils, Kamchatka, Moscow. Yes, I left out the Urals. I left out Sverdlovsk.

All that was said, both at the meetings and in letters and in questions—of which there were several thousand—is now being analyzed, and on the whole I can only say that the trip was necessary and very useful, though difficult. The journalists with their sharp pens have called it a big marathon with short stops, or intervals. I was able to feel that poverty and the low standard of living, dissatisfaction that in five years the people's life has not improved everywhere, and that the farther you go from Moscow the harder life is, with more and more problems. I was able to feel that these problems in the regions are, as yet, hard to overcome. I was able to feel that, so far, not everywhere have the soviets fully taken power into their own hands. I was able to feel that while the people's level of confidence in the Union government has sunk so far that they are demanding its resignation under Ryzhkov, they do have confidence in the Russian parliament, the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, and the new government.

It was stated when I made my appeal that such a credit of trust be given for the implementation of the program that we have planned—two years for stabilizing the economy, and, during the third year, raising people's living standards—that the people are giving us this credit of trust. Of course, everything will depend on how this program is executed, and for this reason one must not entertain, as it were, hopes that we are assured already, today, of these three years at this level of trust.

We will now analyze the problems that existed there and were discussed. And of course we will help resolve these problems. It is quite interesting, though, in the first place, that practically everywhere we heard the request: Give us freedom. Of course it was also heard that deliveries of produce by other oblasts and republics were not being caried out, as well as deliveries of meat and other products. It was heard that chaos was entering the economy, an imbalance in links and so on, a lack of confidence in 1991, as there is not yet an approved program, an all-Union, a Union program for stabilizing the economy and for the transition to the market. For this reason, enterprises and the leaders of enterprises do not know what to do yet—whether to act in accordance with the old pattern, a harsh pattern of vertical state pressure, or to switch to direct horizontal links as a transition stage toward the market economy.

The documents adopted at the First Congress of People's Deputies have been perceived as good everywhere, especially the declaration of state sovereignty and the decision on the division of functions between the center and Russia, the independence of Russia within the Union and the fact that Russia and its parliament and government are taking upon themselves and on their shoulders many Union functions—an additional load—and, at the same time, assuming the responsibility for changing the situation that has taken shape today.

People are tired of waiting. People, I would say, are at the end of their patience. They have therefore expressed very sharp dissatisfaction with the actions of the Union government, which in the course of five years has done practically nothing, either in matters of economic reform or in matters of decentralization, demonopolization, in the economy, and in other spheres, or in matters of improving people's lives.

One was especially struck by the overconcentration of industry in many regions—Tataria, Bashkiriya, the Urals, Komi, and the Kuzbass—as well as by the manifest imbalance that allocates the non-production sphere a mere 20 percent, roughly, of capital investment, when the need is for 40-50 percent. This is the case even today. Many chemical and metallurgical enterprises were built literally next door to residential areas without any buffer zones for safety. And these residential areas are shanty towns, areas of poverty deprived of all amenities. There are no buffer zones separating them. In other words these are conditions that naturally make life impossible. Therefore, those political and economic demands made by the miners and other sections of the population are unquestionably logical. We have to draw conclusions. During my tour many problems were raised, many questions were asked. When I was in Vladivostok I gathered together the chairmen of all eight oblasts and autonomous formations throughout the Far East to discuss these problems. These problems were discussed in a very specific way. All this leads one to think that we must now correct the work of the Supreme Soviet and the government. As far as the Supreme Soviet is concerned, the correction must be made at its second session.

We have to begin with the program, with the program for the Union, which has now been completed by the group set up on the instrucitons of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, the group headed by Academician Shatalin. We consider that this is the only program that can be understood and approved by Russia's Supreme Soviet, that can be understood by Russians, especially as it was drafted jointly, together with representatives of all other republics. Virtually all the republics, including the Baltic republics, support it and are willing to sign an economic agreement between all the republics and the country's president on the implementation of this program.

[Lantseva] Boris Nikolayevich, I will just ask a question on behalf of Ludmilla (Terina), an observer for MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. You have just completed your introductory speech, and this has to do with the Shatalin program. Ludmilla asks: Yesterday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that the program drawn up by the Shatalin group and the government's concept would be integrated into one. How do you view the prospects for this? What, in your opinion, could the price of a compromise be? And, indeed, can the Union government implement the new program at all? This is the question.

[Yeltsin] The president and I had a meeting two days ago on his initiative. Our conversation lasted five hours; I do not think we had spoken that long these past five years. [laughter] We managed to discuss virtually all the questions that he had and that I had. The questions were diverse, and they touched on the program. We agreed that there should be one program and only one program. We have had enough of alternative programs. The people, too, are tired, and likewise, they are waiting for the program to be adopted finally. For two years now we have been talking about this program for the transition to a market economy, yet nothing is being done. Therefore, there must be one single program.

You cannot cross a hedgehog with a snake, and, similarly, you cannot cross the Shatalin group's program with the Union program. They are based on totally different principles. The advantage of the Shatalin group's program is that, above all, it accounts for the fact that most of the Union republics have passed declarations or laws concerning their state sovereignty. Only through these and through the legislation of these republics can this program be implemented. Meanwhile, the Union government program again envisions centralization, a state plan, directives, and resolutions that, as we have seen for ourselves over many decades, do not work but instead merely lead to failure. Given that, I do not think the session of the Russian Supreme Soviet that starts on 3 September will go for this other program, although there might be some comment. The Russian Supreme Soviet, however, will examine the program drawn up by the Shatalin group, and I very much hope that it will be approved by and large.

In short, the following question arises: How can a government implement a program with which it is not in agreement and which it did not draw up? Speaking the day before yesterday at the Presidential Council, I plainly stated that for this program to be implemented, one of the primary conditions required is that the Union government headed by Ryzhkov should resign.

[Unidentified questioner] On 23 August, the president issued a decree that deems the decisions and resolutions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the protection of the economic foundation of Russia's sovereignty as being legally untenable. The president's news conference, held yesterday, did not clarify the issue of when the Union treaty might be adopted. The essence of my question is this: How long will decisions that block the decisions of the Russian Supreme Soviet continue to be adopted? As far as this issue is concerned, was any sort of accord reached or were things made clearer during your five-hour-long conversation?

[Yeltsin] Yes, we certainly did discuss this special political case, and we agreed not to allow this to happen anymore. My view is this: We shall have to cross many barriers along the path of concluding the Union treaty. This is because, so far, we have 13 drafts of Union treaties. We have them from 12 republics, save for the three Baltic republics and one is, so to speak, the center's program.

All 13 draft treaties differ so much that so far it appears perfectly impossible to make them into a single entity now. Even though a committee is now being set up to work out the Union treaty, so to speak, I am not optimistic that it will be concluded, not just in the nearest future but even this year. This is because one republic wishes to have an army of its own, another wishes to have its own customs, another wishes to have its own bank notes, and yet another republic only wishes to have its own currency. So, in a word, there is so little that all these draft treaties share in common that one has to proceed toward it in, perhaps, a stage-by-stage and block-by-block manner.

I think, incidentally, that it is very fortunate that this new program worked out by Academician Shatalin's group is not just a program, but also a draft of an economic agreement. This agreement was being worked out by representatives of all republics, and it took them a month to do it. The agreement can be examined by the supreme soviets of republics and it can be signed by all the leaders of republics and the country's president. This, if you like, will be a sort of primary net, at least one that will keep the Union and our state together; it will be an economic foundation, an economic agreement. Subsequently, work will have to be done on the block that comes next. Evidently, it is in this way that we shall have to move toward this Union treaty, because it would be senseless to take all 13 drafts of the treaty all together and begin to debate them.

[Unidentified questioner] Could you tell us in greater detail about the essence of your accords with M.S. Gorbachev, and do you think that the two-day sitting of the Presidential Council was generally in line with these accords? And a second question: What was the reaction to your statement concerning Ryzhkov's resignation?

[Yeltsin] It was not only me who spoke about it—the resignation, demanding the resignation of Ryzhkov and the government. Others spoke too—trade union leaders, representatives of the working class, and representatives of other republics, as well as other members of our delegation representing the Russian Supreme Soviet and the government. It was stated that no matter how many times the program is improved, the Union program, it can no longer be accepted by the people from the psychological point of view. It is simply that it is being rejected psychologically. This is because there is no faith in the Union government. We and subsequently... [changes thought] Yesterday I was not at the Presidential Council, since yesterday the Russian Constitutional Commission was sitting for the whole day. I, as chairman, chaired this Russian commission. It was very important for working out a new constitution. But our representatives and First Deputy Khazbulatov once again repeated this demand, and we will not agree to the joining of the two programs insofar as this, as I have said, is totally unrealistic. This will only put the brakes on the future, not only on economic reform but, in general, on the renewal of our country's society and political life.

[Unidentified correspondent] We know that you talked with Mikhail Sergeyevich about Japan, too. Concerning means for developing relations with Japan, what accord have you reached with him here? Particularly, I have the Kuril Islands in mind.

[Yeltsin] It would, of course, be interesting for me to find out how you found out about it in view of the fact that ours was a face-to-face conversation for the entire five-hour period. [laughter] Nonetheless, I confirm that this topic did figure in our conversation, since it was not for nothing, surely, that I visited the Kurils after my visit to Japan. That a conversation should have occurred there on this [topic] is understandable. I conveyed to the president my point of view, the one I expressed in Japan—my five-stage way out of this situation. But not in the way that the Japanese media see it—a five-stage approach to handing over the Kurils to Japan. This is not so. Without listing all five stages, let me state the fifth stage. Well, at the fifth stage, in 20 years or so, when new people in Japan and in our country and in Russia have come to head the states, people who will be adherents of new thinking, these people will, possibly, find some sort of nontraditional way out from this dead end. But for the time being, so as not to freeze our relations—and only one percent of Japan's foreign trade is with our country, as paradoxical as it sounds—options are being proposed that would open up the possibility of a more dynamic development of relations between us. One of these stages is considered to be—and I think that we must seek to obtain this from the Japanese prime minister—the conclusion of a treaty between Japan and Russia, a treaty that is not dependent in any way on the question of the Kurils. In other words, this will be a treaty on economic, scientific, technical, trade, social, cultural, and other matters.

[Same correspondent] What was Mikhail Sergeyevich's reaction to this view of yours?

[Yeltsin] He said that this is interesting and will be studied prior to his trip to Japan, which looks as though it will take place next year.

[Unidentified correspondent] The question has been raised of the need to combine Moscow City and [Moscow] Oblast into a single region, in view of how closely bound they are. What is your attitude now towared this idea, and, in general, what is your attitude following your trip—during which the question of sovereign rights for various regions was raised several times—to that of the status of the Moscow region and its independence?

[Yeltsin] I have not changed my view. I consider that Moscow City and Oblast should be combined, to be given some kind of status as a subject of the federation, this status to be specially endorsed by a law at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. And there is such an instruction from the First Congress of People's Deputies, relating to the status of Moscow. But bearing in mind that the Moscow Oblast leadership's attitude to this is not entirely positive, to put it mildly, it strikes me that the interests of the matter could be served by holding a referendum of the population of Moscow Oblast, and then making a decision on the basis of this, the decision to be made by the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

[Lantseva] Boris Nikolayevich, as we are discussing matters to do with oblasts, the following question has come from Sergey Katayev of Tyumen television: Boris Nikolayevich, on your lengthy trip you somehow missed us in Tyumen Oblast. Do you have plans to come and see us, and what is your view of the fact that the Khanty-Mansi Okrug Executive Committee has declared itself the total master of the oil wealth?

[Yeltsin] Well, let us put it like this: On questions touching on, so to speak, relations between nationalities, I try to be superexact, and therefore, I would rather not make an assessment. First of all, I have not looked at this question in depth, and also I have not yet received advice about how or what Tyumen Oblast's leadership and oblast soviet think about this.

I consider that this is the principle of the formation of a level of power and of a delegation of power from below to above that was already implicit in the program documents and for this reason I have a quite calm attitude toward the fact that decisions are now being adopted by the supreme soviets of Tataria and other autonomous republics on sovereignty. I consider this an historical inevitability, an objective reality that must be taken into consideration. And I think that if, at the Union level three years ago, there had not been such a powerful resistance to the aspirations of the republics, first and foremost to the Baltics, toward their independence, even economic independence, then perhaps such opposition, counteraction, and then even national conflicts and conflagrations would not have accumulated. For this reason decisions by supreme soviets have to be respected, all the more so because logically they delegate the Russian share of their authority to the leadership, the supreme soviet, and the government; and we will be concluding a treaty, as it were, with these now sovereign republics.

[Lantseva] A question from microphone No. 2, if you please.

[(Steparo)] Anatoliy (Steparo) from the IZVESTIYA newspaper. Boris Nikolayevich, during your trip around the country you will have seen much and heard many of the problems mentioned in the past. These include urgent problems. Which of these problems will you be trying to get included on the agenda of the forthcoming Supreme Soviet? Thank you for your answer.

[Yeltsin] The first thing is to rid ourselves of diktat, of Union diktat, over enterprises, and to give enterprises genuine freedom of action and genuine independence. Currently this does not exist. For this reason we must pass a Russian law on enterprise initiative—a new law, specifically Russian, on enterprises. We must pass a law on ownership that covers or allows all types of ownership, including private ownership. We must pass a law on peasant holding, since there is opposition to the creation of peasant holdings. We must pass a law on a land code or on land reform witout delay. We must, of course, react to the ecologically extremely dangerous situtіon in a number of regions. If 900,000 tonnes of various harmful substances fall onto the heads of the people of Novokuznetsk, then that is quite without comparison! Quite without comparison! Some 900,000 tonnes! We have no other region like that! And not only can nature not cope with this, but it will be unable in time to recover from this battering. Of course, we must now react quickly to these issues. And perhaps, particularly where dioxin is being emitted, those enterprises must either be shut down, or else imported technology must be brought in rapidly, without delay, and the technology there replaced with new technology.

[(Korzin)] Sergey (Korzin), radio station Ekho Moskvy. Boris Nikolayevich, a question developing a previous question—specifically, the proclamation of the sovereignty of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic. As such sovereignty has been proclaimed, Tataria is in effect rising to the same level as the Russian Federation itself. How far does the tolerance of the leadership of the Russian Federation go? Does it agree to see Tataria and other similar formations as equal partners in the Union or in some other structure?

[Yeltsin] I do not see partnership in the Union as yet, because I am saying that the Union treaty is a protracted process, and the participation of such new sovereign repubics in a Union treaty is somewhat problematic. Of course, it is only approximate as yet, but I would imagine that these sovereign republics, Tataria for example, in delegating certain functions to Russia and concluding an appropriate treaty, could, through Russia and through the union functions, also conclude a treaty with Russia. [sentence as heard] This would, perhaps, be more precise and more logical, but this will have to be discussed with the leadership of Tatarstan. Tataria, the Tatar Republic, Soviet Socialist, remains part of Russia, and it recognizes the leadership of Russia.

[Unidentified correspondent] I am getting the impression that soviet power is currently still very weak in the regions and is not fully ready to take on the complex of all possible kinds of reforms, including economic ones. What is your assessment of this phenomenon, and here, besides the nomenklatura, clearly, an imbalance could become incorporated into the actual structure of soviet power. Are such things taken into account, and to what extent are they serious obstacles on the road of reform? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Yes, you are right, and in practically every region I met the chairmen of the soviets and of the executive committees, at rural, settlement, rayon and town, oblast and kray level, and this question was discussed. Of course, the structure of soviets adopted by the previous composition of the Supreme Soviet is not entirely felicitous, and it is criticized at practically all levels, and one of the first laws that will now be discussed, after the program and the economic agreement, is the law on local soviets, local self-management, and local economic management.

In this law we must formulate more clearly the place of the soviets. But I got the impression that views on the structure differ from oblast to oblast and from kray to kray. Some favor merging the executive committees with the soviets. Some favor having a presidium, but others think it is not necessary. Some believe that while the towns should have town soviets, the rayons do not need soviets but only executive authorities. There are many variations. We will, of course, discuss this at the Supreme Soviet. But the preliminary impression is that we should give the town, rayon, rural, and settlement soviets, soviets at those levels, the same prerogatives as oblast and kray soviets, as soviets in autonomous entities, that we should handle the structure of the soviets in this way. Let them decide for themselves on the spot. Russia is a big place. The differences in traditions, climatic conditions, dimensions, and so on are very great. Therefore, we may have to have different structures. There will probably be 20-30 types of structure in the organization of soviet power. But if there are only two or three types, that is nothing to be afraid of.

As far as cadres are concerned, there are variations. The standard of cadres varies. But a gradual improvement is taking place. The decision of the First Congress of People's Deputies on demarcation of functions—or to be more exact, the inadmissibility of combining functions, for instance the functions of first secretary and soviet chairman at whatever level—this decision is being implemented, if only slowly. In Maritime Kray, for example, they told me that only one such individual remains, on Sakhalin, and he will be gone by the end of September. [laughter] As a result of this, the position of the soviet chairman is being strengthened. Naturally, we should aim to find a way of providing financial support for the soviets, by making across-the-board tax deductions from the profits of enterprises. A certain percentage of these deductions would go to the grass-roots local soviet, since in my view these should be the most authoritative bodies.

But of course we should also make it possible to eliminate as many posts as possible so that it is not the apparatus that runs the show, but an elected body—namely, the soviets.

We intend to adopt a law at the session of the Supreme Soviet on a mechanism for carrying out the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Russia and on strict accountability, including even criminal accountability, if the laws are not carried out.

[Unidentified correspondent] Yesterday, M.S. Gorbachev said at his news conference: If we lose another two or three months, we will have to abandon many things, not only in our tactics, but also in our strategy. What then would have to be given up in strategy, because two or three months is a very short time? And second, do you intend to raise officially the question of a vote of no confidence in the Union government at the next session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR?

[Yeltsin] If we start to combine these two programs, not only two months but six months will not be sufficient. If we are firmly resolved to be guided by the program proposed by the Shatalin group, it should be possible to discuss it and prepare a draft agreement in two weeks at the sessions of the supreme soviets of the republics, and sign it, and, in two weeks' time, or rather not in two weeks' time, but on 1 October, start counting off the 500-day program. This is the only solution.

Will the Russian Supreme Soviet discuss a vote of confidence in the Union government? This will depend in the next week or 10 days on how the Union government acts. On whether it again puts forward its program, or whether it eventually comes to accept the reality that exists today—namely, whether it will, after all, consider the Shatalin group's program. In light of that, the Supreme Soviet is likely to make its decision. Perhaps good sense will break through to the reasoning faculties of the government leadership and it will realize, of its own accord, that it has to resign.

[Lantseva] Here is a question from journalist Irina Koryagina: Five years ago nobody could have foreseen the cataclysms that we have in society today. In truth, the ways of perestroyka are inscrutable. Gorbachev calls the current phase the phase of profound change, and he demands an increase in presidential power. What do you think this could lead to?

[Yeltsin] I called for radical changes three years ago. But unfortunately all these years have been years of half measures, of irresoluteness and compromise, which has brought us to our current situation. While the program is being implemented we need discipline and a degree of masterfulness, as this program envisages quite harsh actions, particularly where stabilization of the ruble is concerned. In other words, the first 100 days will be decisive. It is clearly timetabled what should happen on 1 October and what on the 10th, and what on the 20th, and what on 1 November, and what on 15 November. If there is a lack of discipline here or an absence of true power in the execution of laws, so to speak, then this program will misfire. Therefore, while the program is being implemented, I believe we need a certain strengthening of power. But the way I think and visualize it is that the president should have some sort of magisterial interrepublican body, with representatives from all republics, that would be linked both to the councils of ministers and to the supreme soviets and that could rapidly make decisions and monitor their execution. I would say that the heads of official departments now directly engaged in implementing this program, and particularly its first actions with respect to the credit and monetary-fiscal system, should, of course, be replaced—namely, the finance minister and the bank. There should be a reorganization of the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], and Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics]. In the Finance Ministry, for example, there should be a new minister and a collegium consisting of the finance ministers of all republics. In that case there would be direct-effect laws, so to speak. Once a decision, a decree, or a law is passed, it would be put into immediate operation.

[Unidentified correspondent] It is no secret that among the people now you often come across the view that the current situation is just a palace revolution, a struggle for power. In this regard I would like to ask you this question: You have come back from a trip and have visited factories; how would you assess the condition of the working class, and will it be able to become a social base for your program, or a program like, say, that of Academician Shatalin? Will the working class accept it, or will there be the same sort of disappointment as there has already been on more than one occasion?

[Yeltsin] In the first place, in the problem of going over to the market and in general to market relations, the current situation has already changed. It is not like it was several months ago when it was generally rejected and it was considered that it was the capitalist path. On the contrary, everyone has been saying: Give us the 500-days program, publish it, adopt it, approve it; give us a program of concrete action, so that we can see what you should do, what we should do, how we should work, and so that we can monitor your work on a daily basis. This demand was expressed everywhere.

[KROKODIL correspondent (Kroshin)] (Grigoriy Kroshin), KROKODIL journal. Boris Nikolayevich, a question to you as a people's deputy of the USSR. In conditions when the Union structures have lost the people's confidence and the laws being adopted are not functioning, readers are asking: Do we need people's deputies of the USSR and the Union parliament?

[Yeltsin] I was asked about this by many people's deputies of the Union who were in the regions and whom I met there, practically in every region, both those of the RSFSR and of the Union. I replied that, of course, currently there is no question of this, but some reorganization of parliament, say. Yesterday, while discussing the constitution of Russia, of course, we are coming to the conclusion that in the long term, we consider that, perhaps beyond the five-year period, that is, on the expiry of the deputies' mandates, such a two-tiered system is not necessary—the Supreme Soviet and the congress. [sentence as heard] And when we discussed this with Gorbachev, he also agreed that at the union level evidently, too, just such a principle will be incorporated into the Union constitution. In any case, one tier, and not two.

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, during your trip there was broad discussion of the problem of creating open economic zones. What role will they be able to play in the economic renewal of Russia and in the development of its foreign economic ties?

[Yeltsin] This is no discovery, since free economic zones such as these were started in a number of countries precisely following economic crisis. This is why at the Supreme Soviet we adopted a law on six such zones, free economic zones—namely, Sakhalin, Maritime Kray, including Nakhodka, Chita Oblast, Leningrad, Vyborg, and Kaliningrad Oblast. The Kuzbass and the town of Zelenograd are currently putting forward their proposals and the decisions of their soviets. This, it seems to me, is not the whole of Russia, and if out of 68 formations eight or ten, let's say, have the status of free economic zones like this, their experience will be very interesting. If it turns out to be really useful and yields results, then we could extend this experience further, because it is silly today when a fish-processing base or an entire industry, a combine or an association in the Far East, catches and processes millions of tonnes of fish but cannot distribute its produce, and there are no fish in the shops of Kamchatka and Sakhalin, or only a very poor selection, no wider than in Moscow. They cannot sell even 1,000 tonnes of fish at their own discretion, even above-plan catches: Is that really how things should be? Moreover, one has to travel to Moscow to get a license, and one has to get over all the bureaucratic obstacles before getting that license, and even then you might not get it. Enterprises must be given the freedom, the freedom and right of ownership, not only of the basic means of production, the active and passive part of them, but also above all of the output which that enterprise produces—the right to dispose of its own output. That is the chief right of the enterprise and of the individual who works at that enterprise.

[Lantseva] Boris Nikolayevich, several questions have come in about your meetings with troops during your trip. Nikolay Moskovshchenko of the Shchit [Shield] Union asks: Boris Nikolayevich, what is your evaluation of the situation in Army circles, and what do you think of the creation of a Russian army?

[Yeltsin] Yes, I met border guards, infantry units, and naval detachments. I have already told you that I went aboard a modern submarine. I found that the mood among these people was as follows: The middle-ranking officers favor serious transformation and reform in the Army, but not the reform that is envisaged by the top generals. They have their own ideas about reform and reorganization of the Army. Naturally, service conditions are difficult. For example, when a submarine is operating independently, it can be submerged for 90 days. This is physically taxing. But something even harder to bear, which simply shocked me, is the fact that in a closed military residential complex nobody bothers about the families of servicemen. There is nobody they can turn to, because Soviet power does not operate there. The military turns its back: The main thing is the service, and the fact that there are wives and children that every day have needs and problems; this is a matter of indifference.

[Unidentified correspondent] You spoke of an interrepublican body that ought to be set up under the president of the Soviet Union to implement the economic program. Have you spoken about organizing this body with the president of the country? If you have, how did he react? Second, what will be the relation of this body with the Presidential Council, and will you be a member of the body?

[Yeltsin] Yes, I have spoken to the president about this. Yes, he agrees that it is necessary to have such a body, which would implement the program, because the question does arise: Who will implement whatever program is confirmed? So this body would be involved only with the implementation of the program, and with this issue alone. It seems to me that actually it ought to be a council of the presidents of Union and sovereign states. It should not be one of large and small presidents; they should be equal.

[Unidentified correspondent] During your trip you repeatedly mentioned the fact that a large quantity of gold has been exported from our country in recent times. Was this issue raised during your meeting with the president? Did you manage to elucidate who sanctioned this, for what reason, and on what basis?

[Yeltsin] This issue was, of course, discussed. Moreover, not only my dissatisfaction but also my protest was expressed about such activities. It was not repudiated that gold really had been exported—attempts are now being made to export diamonds—and this includes the gold reserves of Russia. The president attempted to convince me that the government has the right to do this. He did not convince me of this because this should be the prerogative of the Supreme Soviet. But we are taking measures to prevent a further leakage of gold for purposes that are not known to the Russian Supreme Soviet.

[NARODNYY DEPUTAT correspondent] (Leontyeva), NARODNYY DEPUTAT magazine. We have had many programs and the people now find it hard to believe that the socialist market will get healthier or that the regulated market will get healthier, never mind about some period of 400 or 500 days. It seems to me that people do not have too much faith in the new program, the one you call the Shatalin program, either. I would like to know whether Russia's highest authorities have such structures as would anticipate everything in good time—that is to say, who will carry this program out, how will it be carried out, how will different strata in society react to it, in what time frames is the credit of trust for the Russian leadership to be measured, and when will the first yields, as it were, of its program be in hand? In a concise form, please.

[Yeltsin] Many questions in one question. As for the time frames for the credit of trust, I have already spoken of this to you. Everywhere, at all meetings, I mentioned and asked for two years for stabilization and the third year for an improvement in the standard of life of the people. At all meetings, this credit was given; that is the first thing.

Despite everything, I believe in this program, even though, of course, what are required are very serious efforts indeed, and I wish to repeat this once again: Demands to fulfill this program must be made with determination and resolve; there is no other way. The program commences with the stabilization of the ruble. This is the first and foremost step. If we stabilize the ruble, we will succeed in moving forward, too. Let us hope, then. This is because currently people have put their belief in one thing—in perestroyka. For five years it has failed to deliver to the people. Shatalin's new program does not contain the word ideology, nor does it contain the word perestroyka. It is simply action. It contains specific measures concerning that which is needed at present and that which is needed tomorrow and what must be done to really stabilize the economy—not in the name of ideology, but to attain the goal within these three years, two to three years. One must believe in this, and one must somehow also convince the people that we ourselves do indeed believe in this and, if it is to be adopted, it must be adopted as soon as possible. Now, each single day the Union government spends to ensure that the program is not endorsed is tantamount to shortening Gorbachev's power by the same amount of time. Everyone must know this.

[Lantseva] Do you have the structure? I am asking this question in terms of immediacies. Do you have the analysts, the minds who look into the results of adopted decisions?

[Yeltsin] Yes. A so-called Coordinative and Consultative Council is being set up by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Its formation has not been completed but will be soon. This is the supreme intellectual brain in Russia consisting of about 25 people, including six members who are our compatriots living abroad and who are also very clever people. [laughter] And, most importantly, they are specialists in different fields. Our main trouble is that when making a decision on a problem, say, for instance, the decision in the name of Academician Abalkin limiting pay raises to three percent, which did not have the intended effect, the possible consequences are not thought through. Pay or income still managed to climb by 15 percent, but the goods did not. That is to say, the adopted decision was not analyzed on the grounds of its social, interethnic, and economic outcome, and so on. The group will not work on a permanent basis. Take Academician Bogomolov. He will head his institute but at the same time be a member of the council. In this way he will contribute the expertise of that institute. The same applies to other members of the council. They will suggest that, say, this road should not be taken because it leads to a dead end, whereas another one should be taken; that is to say, they will analyze all the possible consequences of laws or decisions that are to be made—the positive or negative consequences that they could bring us to. This is really the supreme brain. In other words, they are all people who are cleverer than Yeltsin and Silayev.

[Lantseva] Are you happy with that answer?

[Yeltsin] I would like to thank you for your attention, comrades. Thank you. Goodbye.

Discusses Draft Constitution

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[News conference of the Constitutional Commission on the Principles and Structure of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Constitution with Boris Yeltsin, commission chairman; Ruslan I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Oleg G. Rumyantsev, commission secretary; and chaired by Lantseva; in Moscow on 1 September—recorded]

[Text] [Lantseva] Esteemed comrades, ladies, and gentlemen:

We are now beginning a news conference of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Constitutional Commission at which questions are being raised on the structure and principles of the Russian Federation's new constitution. Taking part are Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Constitutional Commission, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission.

Go ahead. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has the floor.

[Yeltsin] The Constitutional Commission for elaborating a draft new constitution for Russia was set up at the First Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR. The first plenary organizational session of the Constitutional Commission was held at that time, during the work of the congress, where subcommissions were set up and also a working group, and it was proposed to include experts in this group. It was decided that the next session would be held by the end of August, when the work of the subcommissions, the working group, and the experts would be examined on the structure of the draft new constitution, the main principles, the referendum, and the procedure for adopting the new constitution.

The second session was held yesterday, over the course of the whole day, with a report from the working group by its leader, Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev, and by the leaders of the subcommissions on various, or rather on all sections of the draft new constitution, and then there was a discussion. The work done by the working group and by the subcommissions over such a short period of time was assessed by the commission as a considerable piece of work. It assessed the attempt at a fundamentally new approach to preparing a draft constitution. Over this period world experience was studied; there were trips to the United States, France, Italy, Britain, and certain other countries. A whole library was created, where the constitutions of all of the countries of the world were collected, analyzed, and studied, and all of our previous constitutions were, of course, studied, and to varying degrees of completeness, they were presented yesterday for discussion by the Constitutional Commission. On some sections, only principles were presented; on other sections, principles were presented practically as the basis for a draft constitution. The constitution is based, in general, on new principles and a new structure. First and foremost, it begins with an introductory section, where provision is made to set out the main principles, 11 or 12 principles of the draft constitution, and the first section is human rights. That is, not like in previous constitutions, from the state to the individual, but on the contrary, from the individual to the state.

The commission debated for a very long time. Various points of view were expressed, and not only with members of the commission; chairmen of the committees of the Supreme Soviet were invited, as were representatives of various institutions, specialists, and legal experts. Very diverse points of view were expressed, but we nevertheless came to the conclusion that this work should be continued in more or less that direction, and by 15 October the draft of the new constitution should be fully ready—not just in principle—and at the same time, expanded principles of the constitution, the draft constitution, should be ready, which could be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies for review. A list of questions should be worked out for a nationwide referendum, a draft law on a referendum to be adopted at a first reading at this session of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which will then require ratification at the Congress of People's Deputies, insofar as it requires an amendment to the current Constitution. That is, all this must be fully ready by 15 October. At the end of September, there will be the next, third sitting, the third plenary sitting of the Constitutional Commission, where the question will be resolved of how to approach a referendum and the adoption of the new constitution: whether at the congress, or at a nationwide assembly, a constitutional assembly, especially gathered together—so to speak—to adopt a new constitution, an assembly in which representatives of all nations and ethnic groups of Russian would participate.

[Lantseva] Esteemed colleagues, please prepare your questions. You have 30 minutes at your disposal. Go ahead, please.

[NOVOSTI correspondent] Alekseyev [surname indistinct], NOVOSTI news agency. The late academician Sakharov is known to have been working on a draft constitution, a future constitution of a democratic Union state. His draft remains in existence. Were his proposals and ideas taken into account when you were working on the draft Russian constitution? And a second question: When, approximately, will this assembly take place, or when will this referendum be held? Can you give at least an approximate time frame?

[Yeltsin] It was this second issue that caused the greatest controversy yesterday. First, should there be a referendum at all? Should the referendum be on the principles alone, or on the constitution as a whole? Should the referendum be conducted on a broad list of principles—say on 11 or 12 points—or should we take only three or four, such as for or against presidential powers, for or against private ownership of land or private property in general, and the name of the Russian Federation. In other words, three or four questions like these. Or should we not hold a referendum, but simply submit the draft constitution later and collect in the usual way 500 observations and proposals which are then not taken into account? Or should we publish the basic principles in the press and then gather responses to that publication?

Anyway, there was great controversy and we postponed the issue. We decided yesterday first of all not to confirm the principles, second not to confirm the date of a referendum, and as the draft constitution itself becomes ready to address all these issues at the next sitting of the constitutional commission since, as you will realize, even to adopt a constitution you have to choose perfectly the political moment and situation in the country as well. If there's a shortage of this, that, and the other—the tobacco situation is bad and then tea and so on and so forth—it's not the time for a constitution. So this must be taken into account too. Although on the other side-...[changes thought] I mean there were suggestions that it should even be postponed until 1992, but we consider this to be completely absurd because we would then be freezing our entire legislative work, as it were, since we are constantly running up against the decrepit Constitution. We would then constantly be amending that Constitution. We need a new constitution, even if it steps slightly ahead of the present state of society.

Fine, so be it. This is better than falling behind the state of society all the time. Of course one should also take into account the fact that at present, at this very time, the new Russian legislature, leadership, Supreme Soviet, and the new government actually enjoys a high credibility rating.

That is quite a favorable situation. What things will be like in another year it is difficult to say.

[NOVOSTI correspondent] You have not replied to the question about Sakharov's draft.

[Yeltsin] Yes, excuse me. Certainly, it was circulated to all members of the constitutional commission, more than 100 people, and perhaps Oleg Germanovich will reply in more detail about what was considered from Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov's draft, but of course it was taken into account.

[Rumyantsev] Speaking about this matter, it must be stressed that Sakharov's draft for a constitution was among the first documents that were circulated to all members of the commission, and the conceputal line itself of this draft, its humanism, its focus on the individual and on society is what was taken as the basis for our constitution, as well. Boris Nikolayevich has already spoken about this, that our constitution has a fresh approach to the relationship; between the individual, society, and the state. Speaking about our work in the constitutional commission, we take as our premise that the new Russian leadership holds three very important trump cards, three very important positive points. The first is the earnest trust of the people, the second is radical economic reform, and the third lies in the vision of the new foundations of the whole way society's life is arranged. And it is the third point that the new constitution represents. It is not by chance that the republic's leadership, Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, have been at the head of the Constitutional Commission.

[Yeltsin] Among the features of the new constitution—one should turn one's attention, first, to the main feature—is its focus on achieving civic peace, ethnic and social harmony. This is very important right now, at such a heated and stormy time, a very difficult one, but nevertheless, the constitution may become a document of such ethnic and social harmony. Second, we proceed from a concept of a social contract; the constitution not as a document for control, for totalitarian power over society, but a document which is a social contract between the individual, society, and the state, where the individual and society delegate part of their rights to the state in order for the state to protect that individual and protect that society, and not oppress them. The third feature is that we see the constitution as a document with direct juridical effect, a legal document, in the full sense of the word a basic law for the state and society. The fourth feature is that the document is de-ideologized. It is not supposed to become the record of some certain ideology as a state, official ideology.

The fifth feature: Obviously, indeterminate concepts with no legal import, such as social democracy, democratic humane socialism, socialist legality, evidently should not be part of a juridical document. The sixth feature is the social state: We propose the registering in the constitution of the principle of the social state, that is, the state's purpose in guaranteeing, giving social guarantees and social protection to the individual, the state's obligation to protect life within society. And the seventh aspect: The constitution must be a stable document, a stable document because today Russia finds itself in a worse position than the United States, which has had one constitution for 200 years, but in a better position than the Dominican Republic, which has had 31 constitutions in 120 years. So far, we have had four constitutions in Russia, and now the fifth is being drafted. We would like it to be not just another constitution, the fifth, with a 25th later, and so on, but the fifth and stable one, long-lasting, registering for the long-term the foundations of civic peace and prosperity of the Russian Republic.

[Lantseva] Go ahead..

[Yeltsin] A Russian state.

[Khasbulatov] I would like to add a little on the matter of whether all the ideas of academician Sakharov have been taken into account. I don't believe everything should be taken into account. Take, for instance, the late Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov's idea of a Russian state. Some people are trying to read an extremely reactionary content into it. Incidentally, some who are interested in this idea...[changes thought] it is no accident—I have observed a trend—that, for instance, there are in our autonomous republics some very reactionary people who, having suppressed their national intelligentsia for decades, have now taken up the idea of a national rebirth, have lumbered this topic with national independence, and have started to gain reputations as the most advanced people. Thus, they are gradually trying to arm themselves with the generally noble idea of academician Sakharov, and in this way to prod the legislators and say: Ah, would it not be good to set up a Russian state on the territory of the RSFSR? What lies behind this idea? The intention is to define certain oblasts that are fundamentally Russian, and then to declare a significant part of the territory of the RSFSR as belonging to other nations. This is one; if it is even accepted, or if you even theoretically accept that viewpoint, then just imagine the consequences it could have! And for this reason—and not just for this reason—we believe that ethically, morally, and legally, when we talk of Russia, we should be thinking of the natural and historical borders of the RSFSR. That is our stance. I believe this stance to be the humanistic one, and the one that is in keeping with the spirit of academician Sakharov.

But if we speak of some of the delusions of great people: People are great because they can consider things on a world scale and assume in each person a bearer of humanism and beauty. And it would not even occur to many great people that such a mischievous notion could stem from their noble idea. And, therefore, as Oleg Rumyantsev said, it is, of course, above all the spirit of academician Sakharov and his constitution that is close to us: its striving for a truly humanistic ideal and for mankind's eternal dream to come true, to get rid of the omnipotent state that oppresses man without rights. Well, of course, there could be another extreme: i.e. an all-powerful man and a state without rights. Clearly, we should not strive for that sort of distortion either. The state should be strong and effective. But that state should reflect the interests and serve to defend, above all, the general civic rights of the individual, the man, and the citizen. Thank you.

[Lantseva] Your question, please.

[(Aksenov)] TASS World Service, (Aksenov) Boris Nikolayevich, at your previous news conference just now you spoke about the Union treaty. In a constitution which, according to the secretary of the Constitutional Commission is envisaged not merely as the latest, the fifth or 25th, but as a stable document, how is it possible to foresee, for example, the rights which Russia will agree to delegate to the center, when this is not yet clear in general, among all the republics? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] That is why we did not adopt decisions yesterday on what is not yet clear for us, either. Perhaps we are hoping that given that the president is currently disposed to push ahead the question of concluding a Union treaty, this matter will nevertheless somehow be cleared up. Undoubtedly, we need these matters to be coordinated—the new constitution, a confederative Russian, intra-Russian treaty, and the Union treaty, and also the sequence in which they are to be adopted.

[Lantseva] Please, your question.

[Demchenko] Irina Demchenko, IZVESTIYA: As far as I know, the new draft Russian constitution provides for the institution of a presidency. What should it be like and how far should it differ or not differ from the institution of the Union presidency as it is at the present, in your view?

[Yeltsin] Yes, the draft provides for this. In general, these proposals were also voiced at the Congress of People's Deputies, right up to proposing electing a president right away. Well, at that time it was right that such a decision wasn't made and I am also in favor, say, of not electing a president of Russia as hastily as at the Union level. It is necessary to adopt the whole code of laws connected with the presidency, it is necessary to adopt a new constitution in which provision will be made for electing a president and stating what his rights are and, accordingly, providing for the president to be elected by direct secret ballot by the whole Russian people from multiple candidacies proposed by the Congress of People's Deputies.

Well, let's say that I expect that what has now been proposed by the working group and the subcommissions—I at any rate, expressed my opinion yesterday—will somehow be discussed now in the working group as well. They will find that they have invested the president with too many rights, right up to the point where he can dissolve the legislature—in general, so to speak, it is almost a monarchy!

Here, of course, there should be no such distortion. There must be a certain combination. The president should not be too weak, either, like the president today: A decree is not being carried out? Well, never mind! Let's extend it by two more months. On the other hand, of course, the rights of the president should be clearly indicated in the constitution as well as how they are limited. Of course, an element of impeachment and recall of the president, restriction of his rights, and so forth must be provided for.

[Lantseva] Your question, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] A question from the FINANCIAL TIMES. In practical terms, on the constitution, could you please tell us, for example, what it envisages for the KGB, and for the autonomous republics which would like, for example, to secede from Russia? And third: can one consider that it is not a capitalist, an anticapitalist constitution?

[Yeltsin] The leader of the working group has already said here that the text of the constitution is not ideologized. That is to its very great merit. And so it is even proposed to leave only three letters in its title—RFR. As far as the KGB and other institutions are concerned, I would say that democratization of these is also there—and a change of their functions—in precisely the direction of protecting human rights and toward individuals' social protection. Both legislative activity and the further shaping of our Committee for Social Protection under the RSFSR Council of Ministers will be moving in this direction.

[Lantseva] Would you like to add something?

[Khasbulatov] I would like to say that of course in my view the constitution should not include such specific concepts as the KGB. I think that these organizations can be transformed, changed, abolished, and so on. The constitution is something else: a fundamental document which reflects the common laws of citizens of this state. But the point is that at the First Congress of People's Deputies we adopted a fundamental document which will also, of course, be part of the foundation of this part of the constitution. This is the demarcation of powers between the Russian Federation and the Union. And in this part—if you recall this document, here it is—the powers and the functions—this part, if you recall—the activities of these organs, the activities of the Ministry of Defense, are not being delegated—or we would not want to delegate completely certain parts to the center being created as a result of agreements between the Union republics themselves. But not one of the functions will be completely transferred by the republics to the center that is being formed. All the republics will, of course, preserve their rights, and will have control over the center being formed and the property which is being created. And so, as far as the Union treaty is concerned, we take as our premise that there should not be any Union property as such. There should be, let's say, joint property, and so on.

As far as the issue of the autonomous formations is concerned, for us the autonomous formations and the relationship between the autonomous formations and the RSFSR is a matter of exceptional importance. So we pose the question like this: The first stage, in fact, in shaping the foundations of the new constitution is the federative treaty. That is: understanding, sorting out what is a subject for our Federation, the RSFSR, and what is for the autonomous republics, the autonomous and national okrugs and oblasts, the oblasts and krays—and defining quite clearly their functions, their powers, and the relationship between the Russian center and these structural parts of the Russian state. As virtually all the autonomous formations are agreeable to remaining part of the RSFSR, the following conclusion arises from this: However broad their autonomy may be, they are part of a unified state, and accordingly we must complete the shaping of the federative treaty in full. Why do I say this? Because there is a temptation—I do not want to say in the upper level of political leadership, particularly, but among the central civil servants—there is a very great temptation to set the autonomous formations in Russia against our policy.

For that reason our autonomous entities are brought in artificially to the talks on a Union treaty. The Union treaty is, after all, a matter of a treaty between 15 republics, right? Logically, politically, whatever you like, that's what a Union treaty is. But they are trying to explain and interpret things to us and things are being done on the spur of the moment in such a way as if all the autonomous entities existing in the territory of the RSFSR have to take part in the Union treaty.

Of course we shall look into this whole process very carefully, but in any case we don't intend to allow ourselves to be drawn into a fruitless squabble and be pushed into making some political mistake.

[Yeltsin] On the other hand, of course, we must be very attentive toward the standpoints of those autonomous entities which are today not autonomous but sovereign Soviet socialist republics. These are not autonomous entities, so the federative treaty will be a very complex process inasfar as there will be a different level of delegation of the power of Russia, on the part, let's say, of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic, Tataria, or of some smallish oblast to which a share of the power of Russia will also be delegated.

This level will differ. And to conclude a Union treaty between all these levels will be difficult, very difficult indeed. That is, it will be necessary to choose some sort of general part which unites everyone, and in regard to the remaining part we could be intermediaries between these republics which have now been formed...[changes thought] no, not formed—which have declared their sovereignty, and the Union; and we could assume these treaty obligations ourselves, so that these republics would not be the subjects of a Union treaty.

[Lantseva] Your question, please.

[EL PAIS correspondent] EL PAIS, Spain. Could you say, please, what the difference is between a confederative treaty, about which you are talking, and a federative treaty. Is it merely lexical inaccuracy, or is there some sort of difference?

[Yeltsin] There is no difference.

[El PAIS correspondent] And I would like to know what will happen if an autonomous republic within the federation nevertheless wants later to secede from the Russian Federation? What is considered to make it a real union, a genuine federation, in contrast to the USSR, which is currently falling apart? On what is it based? Is the right to secede upward or downward [word indistinct] recognized?

[Yeltsin] Great attention and great care must of course be paid to the expression of the will of the peoples of any individual republic. But to date, for instance, none of the republics is expressing its desire and aspiration to secede, since it is considered that the historically-established union, and the union of peoples of Russia within Russia, in some respect determines the very great difficulty, at least, of such secession. Nevertheless, in terms of law, we cannot put up any barriers here.

[EL PAIS correspondent] But what mechanism will there be, if someone wants to secede, or is this not provided for?

[Yeltsin] This is not yet provided for, because none of them is declaring its aspiration to secede from Russia.

[Khasbulatov] Historically—I will literally say a few words—historically, these autonomous formations of ours emerged not by virtue of the fact that a state joined the RSFSR, like the Baltic countries, for example, or even Ukraine or Moldavia or the Transcaucasian countries, which at one time existed for centuries as independent states. The fact is that these autonomous formations of ours, on the territory of the RSFSR, arose in practice as structural, integrated parts, and developed as a united part of a united state, with a certain indigenous ethnic group as the dominant one. The question of state independence or of some sort of movement for national liberation, therefore, did not exist at all either before or since the October Revolution. It is only over these 70 years, with all the distortions which have existed in our country and in the development of the socialist ideal, that in practice the formation of a nation as such has taken place, national homogeneity, and questions even of, to some degree, the formation of psychological community, and so forth. That is one aspect.

The second aspect, however, is that we must be aware that with the exception of one or two autonomous formations, the indigenous ethnic group is not the predominant population in any of the autonomous formations. Therefore, in practice the question of seceding from the RSFSR does not arise at all. That is the first thing. The second aspect [as heard] is that one must bear in mind that in general all our oblasts and krays are internationalized in regard to their national composition, and any oblast or kray can quite calmly say that it is multiethnic. For that reason, we are, of course, striving and will be striving to preserve the culture and national achievements, folk art, and so on. In the economic sense, by way of these market structures, we will try to enhance the living standards and resolve economic problems. And when we have resolved these economic problems, it is natural that many of the ethnic contradictions will of their own accord die out—as the experience of European countries goes to show—and the emphasis will be made more and more on cultural autonomy, cultural development, cooperation in the true sense of the word. That is how we understand these issues.

[Yeltsin] Today, it is as if every republic were striving to have the greatest independence. But once it gains this independence and living standards really improve, and the economy is stabilized and so on, then the next stage will be, on the contrary, the striving for greater integration within Russia of all these formations.

[Lantseva] The last question, please.

[SOYUZ correspondent] (Lugovskaya), SOYUZ weekly. I have had an opportunity to acquaint myself with the working group of the Constitutional Commission and with the basic principles of the infrastructure of the future constitution of Russia. And I would like first of all, if I may, to give a brief appraisal. It seems to me that while today the other Union republics are engaged in a struggle, let's say, for state independence, and these processes are distracting them from the essence of real democratization, the constitution of Russia lays the practical foundation of principles and structure, it lays the foundation for qualitative change of society. Society has such strong potential, and a powerful surge in development is expected. That is the impression I have gained. In connection with this, I would like to understand, what attention is being given to processes in the whole of the Soviet Union in drafting the constitution? After all, so far they are in general archaic [as heard] and unpredictable, and won't the situation in the whole of the Soviet Union smother such good intentions, very carefully worked out, won't the constitution perish, will it survive stage one? Even if it is adopted? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] If one proceeds from the concept of dissolution of the Union, then of course, there is no point in working on just such a constitution. But nevertheless, we take as our premise that no such dissolution will take place. We, the Constitutional Commission and everyone working on the draft constitution at the moment, are optimistically inclined. It is in just that spirit that the draft new constitution is being compiled.

[Unidentified correspondent] But how will relations with the USSR as a whole shape up?

[Yeltsin] I have already said that we cannot approach this question for the time being, cannot reply to it, since the process of shaping the Union treaty is still going on. It is very heavy going; I said this at meetings before this matter of the constitution, and so we will accordingly be coordinating activities in adopting this constitution with what happens with the shaping and signing, the adoption of the Union treaty. Then necessary amendments can be made, although we consider the spirit that is today being made the foundation—and thank you for your appraisal—is such that it does indeed envisage a very serious step forward from today's state of society.

[Rumyantsev] I would like to add to the reply to correspondent Lugovskaya's question concerning who is going to protect the constitution. We foresee that the constitution will be protected not by the good Lord, but by itself, that it should be able to protect itself. And so in part seven of the (?concluding) article, we envisage a small special section, a transitional provision of the constitution. This section will lay down the mechanisms for the step by step introduction, the procedure for putting individual sections of the constitution into effect and for abolition of previous institutions.

Since it is not possible to build it all at once, such an ideal society, in one document, there will be transitional provisions which are inevitable to allow the constitution to operate flexibly.

[Yeltsin] And on the other hand, we would not like you to get the impression that the constitution is a constitution for a transitional period, not by any means. It is the constitution as the basic law operating in the long term, and it is indeed only the stage by stage introduction of it that will be measured out in connection with the processes which will be taking place in our country and in our Russian republic. Thank you for your attention.

[Lantseva] Esteemed colleagues, may I on your behalf also express gratitude to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, to Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, and Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev for their replies at this meeting. Thank you.

News Conferences Reviewed

LD0109154890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] Two news conferences for Soviet and foreign correspondents took place at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] House of Soviets on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment today. The first one dealt with the results of the working trip around the country by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. My colleague Sergey Omelchenko is with me here at the moment. He attended the news conference. Over to him. Please.

[Omelchenko] The news conference attracted a very large number of journalists. I didn't count the exact number, but there were about 200-300 people there, from the most diverse agencies, editorial offices, radio stations, and television companies. Indeed, Boris Nikolayevich's trip was original and very unlike any other trips by our leaders. Describing the trip, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin himself said it had been necessary and useful, albeit difficult. I found out for myself that it was useful. I traveled on the same route alongside Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, or rather in parallel with him, and I felt that I found out a very great deal about our country for myself. And as for it being difficult, it really was, because many problems and issues face our country, face Russia today. And Boris Nikolayevich called the trip a long marathon with short stops. The news conference was also a marathon: It lasted much longer than our normal news conferences last. The usual time limit is an hour, but this one was more than two hours. I attended the first half of the news conference, while the second was attended by my colleague Yuriy Korotkov. He's going to be in the studio a little later. The first half dealt with this trip around Russia. Let me suggest a sample, an excerpt from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's statement, where he summed up his impressions from his trip around Russia. I thought it was very interesting.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] I managed to get the feeling that poverty, a low standard of living, and dissatisfaction with the fact that in five years people's lives had not improved, were everywhere and the further you got from Moscow there were more and more problems. I managed to get the feeling that for the time being it is difficult to surmount these problems. I managed to get the feeling that the soviets have not yet everywhere taken power fully into their hands, and that among people, while there has been a drop in their confidence in the Union government—and this goes as far as demands for it, and Ryzhkov as its head, to resign—there is confidence in the Russian parliament. When I appealed to people to give us a period of grace for the implementation of the program we have outlined—two years of stabilization of the economy, and an increase in people's living standards in the the third year—it turned out people are giving us this period of grace. Admittedly, it is quite interesting that practically everywhere the first thing that people said was "Give us freedom!". The thing that was particularly noticeable was that many regions in Tataria, Bashkiria, the Urals, the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Kuzbass were over-crowded with industry, and the obvious imbalance whereby just 20 percent of investments are put into the nonproductive sphere, even though 40 ought to be invested; and where many chemical and metallurgical enterprises lack protective zones, with huts, poverty, and a lack of all amenities nearby. In other words, there were conditions in which, of course, people shouldn't have to live today. And so, the political and economic demands coming from the miners and other sections of the population are undoubtedly logical. [end recording]

[Announcer] Sergey, could you describe the overall line of the questioning, if such there was?

[Omelchenko] There was the greatest diversity of questions. That is natural, because, first, the results of the trip and the impressions from it—and Russia itself—are boundless. So, there was the greatest diversity of questions. But in the main, the questions can be put into the following categories. There were questions about the soviets. For instance, the effectiveness of the structure of the soviets, and cooperation within the soviets, and on this point Boris Nikolayevich said Russia was indeed large, and there were diverse conditions in it. So, he believes that structures ought to be organized by the soviets themselves, be it at local or oblast level.

[Announcer] You mean the local bodies of power?

[Omelchenko] Yes, yes. Apart from that, a very large percentage of questions was connected with the transition to a market economy. That's natural, since time doesn't stand still. October is drawing near, when, as Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said, the Russian program "500 days" should begin to operate, yet there is as yet no coordination between the Union and the Russian program, so that that too worried all those who attended the news conference.

Then a MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent asked the following question: Yesterday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said the program of preparation by Shatalin and the government concept of the transition to a market economy must be integrated. How did Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin appraise that prospect? Here is what the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation replied:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] We have been talking for two years already about the program of transition to a market economy, and nothing is being done. The people prepared themselves, but became tired, and are also waiting for the program to be eventually adopted. We agreed that there must be one, and only one, program. A hedgehog and a snake cannot be combined. So it is impossible to combine the program of Shatalin's group and the Union program. They proceed from totally different principles, and the advantage of the program of Shatalin's group is that it does, above all, bear in mind that a majority of the Soviet republics have adopted declarations and laws on state sovereignty, and only through them and through the legislation of those republics is it possible to implement that program. The program of the Union government once again envisages centralization, Gosplan, directives, and decisions, which, as we have become convinced over many decades, do not work and will only lead to failure. [end recording]

[Announcer] Sergey, what impression did you form? When answering questions, did Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin promise us a better life in the nearest future, in the foreseeable future, or not?

[Omelchenko] You know, what has impressed me throughout Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's tour of Russia, and here at the news conference, is that he gave no one any concrete promises that we'll give you this, and do this and that for you. He says: Take power into your own hands, get on with it, work, receive and make use of it. I think that's the most rational approach, to give freedom of action to the people in the localities, so that they can forge their own happiness, as they say. And now, at this news conference, he has said that this program which has been drawn up by Shatalin and his team, is designed in general for two years of stabilization of the country, and then for a raising of the general level of development. In other words, a promise of sorts is there, but one is already talking here of concrete things such as the need for discipline. We must have some sort of orientations on the legislative level, orientations in the legal and economic plane. Only then can the program work normally.

[Announcer] And give results.

[Omelchenko] Yes, in other words, there is a certain basis or foundation—both economic and legal—and so this encourages one to hope that the thing will get off the ground.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] We don't accept the idea of combining the two programs, because I say that is completely unrealistic and would simply put the brakes not only on future economic reform, but also on the renewal of society and our country's political life generally. The president is being indecisive in this respect, and when we had our conversation I expressed a pretty firm opinion on this, while the opinion he expressed was less firm. The Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation did not, I should say, quite correspond to our agreement in tone, though it was held in that general spirit, but in tone all the same the president evidently wanted to satisfy both sides, which is not possible. [end recording]

Rumyantsev on RSFSR Commission Work

LD3108221190 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The first plenary session of the Russian constitutional commission was held here today. The commission, which was formed at the First Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia this summer, was charged with elaborating the draft new constitution of this largest Union republic.

The session of the commission, which comprises more than a hundred people's deputies of Russia, was held under the chairmanship of its head, Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The commission set up a standing working group of 31 deputies.

"The working group and experts put several issues on the agenda of today's session: The draft structure of the constitution and 11 basic principles of the constitutional system, and the drafts of separate sections of the fundamental law," commission secretary Oleg Rumyantsev told TASS.

In Rumyantsev's view, the discussion showed that deputies close to the Democratic Russia bloc stand on the most active position.

"The commission vigorously discussed the mechanism of the adoption of the constitution, the holding of a referendum and its terms," Rumyantsev went on. "A law on referendum is expected to be adopted at the second session of parliament opening on September 3. This will also require changes in the present constitution, which can be done at an extraordinary congress of people's deputies in November. One should bear in mind that referendum is a costly undertaking. Its holding costs some 200 million roubles. A failure with a referendum would mean a very serious political setback for us."

Summing up the results of the discussion, Yeltsin noted that the work should be continued and the draft constitution is to be ready by November 15. He noted that the constitutional commission had accomplished a great amount of work.

It was decided to announce a public contest for the best draft constitution. Any citizen, a group of authors or an organisation can propose a draft of the entire law or of its separate sections. The best ideas will be taken into account by the commission.

Russian Communist Party Opens 2d Stage of Congress

'Stormy' Debate on Agenda

LD0409091790 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 4 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Russian Communist Party opened the second stage of its founding congress here today to discuss and adopt a party action programme and statutes on a control commission and on party referendums. The congress is also to complete the election of the party Central Committee.

The first stage of the congress took place in Moscow in the second half of June. It elected then only part of the Central Committee as well as party leader Ivan Polozkov, 55.

The debate on the agenda was stormy from the outset. Delegate Valeriy Kolmogorov (the Komi Republic) suggested a vote of no confidence in Ivan Polozkov. He was supported by Sergey Fedorov, representative of the Sverdlovsk party organisation.

He said that people are quitting the party and that more than half those who return their party cards say that the main reason is "the creation of the Russian Communist Party on the principle on which it was formed," and Ivan Polozkov's election.

Representatives of a number of delegations expressed dissatisfaction with the draft programme of action of the Russian Communist Party. Member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Sergey Goryushkin of Moscow read out a statement of a group of delegates of the Moscow party organisation, who proposed that the programme of action for the Russian Communist Party be dropped from the agenda. They suggested that the agenda should include the shaping of a commission to draft the programme document and the rules of the Russian Communist Party and the preparation for the second party congress.

At the same time, many supported holding the congress in accordance with the suggested draft agenda. Moscow worker Ivan Boltovskiy criticised the group's statement and described it as an "obstruction". He actually accused a number of leaders of the Moscow party organisation, including Politburo member and Moscow city party chief Yuriy Prokofyev, as well as the editor of PRAVDA, "of turning away from the working class and actually betraying the party." One person suggested setting up a commission to investigate the harrassment by the media of the Russian Communist Party and its leader Ivan Polozkov.

Congress To Last Until 7 Sep

LD0409082990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] At 1000 today, after a 70-day break, the founding congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party resumed its work in Moscow today. Its second stage will probably last until 7 September. The agenda includes a discussion of the draft program of activities of the RSFSR Communist Party. The election of the Central Committee is to be completed as well.

Ufa Appeals for Postponement

PM0109150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent Aleksandr Zinovyev report under the rubric "Direct Link": "Urged to Postpone Congress"]

[Text] Ufa—The council of secretaries of Ufa primary party organizations has appealed to the delegates to the second stage of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress to postpone the congress.

The congress in its present composition does not reflect the interests and positions of Russia's Communists, the appeal states, and it has not, in point of fact, been prepared. The published draft action program does not contain a specific plan for creating the RSFSR Communist Party as a party of sovereign Russia. It does not contain quick and decisive measures to satisfy the people's urgent needs but, on the other hand, reveals a distinct desire for confrontation with the decisions of the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies.

The majority of Russia's Communists will not go along with such a declarative and, to a considerable degree, conservative program. Therefore, the appeal's authors conclude, it is necessary to draw up a new draft RSFSR Communist Party Program and Statutes and publish them for discussion six months before the congress is convened, and not two weeks before, as was done. It is proposed to return once again to the question of the congress' powers, to consider the elected Central Committee a provisional one, and to fix the date for convening the congress.

If the congress delegates do not adopt cardinal decisions reflecting the opinions and will of the party masses, the appeal's authors declare, then primary party organizations and local party committees, in accordance with the CPSU Statutes, will take into their own hands the initiative of convening the RSFSR Communist Party congress.

Congress delegates from Ufa City Party Organization participated in the session of the secretaries' council. They supported the appeal and pledged to convey it to the congress.

Delegate Registration Continues

LD0309082290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Summary] The registration of delegates to the second stage of the Russian Communist Party inaugural congress will continue today in the Hall of Congresses at the Kremlin. It opens tomorrow. In the evening, television and radio will carry special bulletins about the congress.

Kalugin Elected People's Deputy of Krasnodar

LD0309085190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0822 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Zhilyakov]

[Text] Krasnodar, 3 Sep (TASS)—According to preliminary figures, the former KGB general, Oleg Kalugin, won a majority of the votes at Sunday's run-off election to choose a USSR people's deputy for the Krasnodar national-territorial constituency, in place of the previous deputy. His opponent in the election was Nikolay Gorovoy, the chairman of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet Executive Committee. About 60 percent of the voters took part in the election.

Last June the USSR Council of Ministers stripped Kalugin of his rank of KGB major-general (reserve) for "actions besmirching the honor and dignity of a member of state security organs." At the same time he was deprived of all his state awards by a decree of the USSR president.

Kalugin Interviewed on Candidacy

LD0109153790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Interview with O.D. Kalugin, former KGB official, by correspondent Aleksandr Politkovskiy; place and date not given; from the "View" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Politkovskiy] Oleg Daniilovich, I think that we have had enough of this sort of thing. I am talking about today's edition of PRAVDA and about the item in the "Vremya" program which in some of its reports is tending to be a mouthpiece of the Kremlin—so let us not respond to these things which have happened today. I am referring to...well, I myself took part in your first election campaign and I can not say that everything is true in this article which is called "Whipping Up Passions." Let us say a few kind words about your opponent.

[Kalugin] Gorovoy, my opponent, has a good labor biography. He is from a peasant background, a former director...er...chairman of a collective farm. He is first secretary of a rayon party committee, he is a hero of socialist labor, he is a first deputy chairman of an agro-industrial committee, so that as an individual I even find him rather nice in some ways. But at the same time I regard him as a symbol, as a representative of the apparatus, the party and soviet apparatus of Krasnodar Kray. It is a conservative apparatus which today, together with the local church and the local KGB, is sparing no efforts to block my election.

[Politkovskiy] I think that Krasnodar Kray, the Kuban, has given some worthy gifts to Moscow. I am speaking of Medunov, Vorotnikov, Polzkov. Well, we shall consider that you as a candidate for the post of USSR peoples deputy will be, perhaps, our reply to Chamberlain, or to be more accurate to the Kuban. But now let us look at this election report. [passage omitted]

I know that you bringing an action in court. Is there any news about this?

[Kalugin] Well, in fact there are at present two actions or legal cases coming up. One of these is connected with the submission by the KGB on the basis of which an attempt is being made to bring a criminal case of disclosing secrets. I must say that I am rather skeptical about this case. In my view the secrets which are being spoken about so much today have already been betrayed or conveyed long ago to the West.

For example, it is well known—but unfortunately it is not known to Soviet citizens—that such people as Kryuchkov's assistant, whose job it was to make purchases of various consumer goods for the Politburo, has fled to the West; that the secretary of the party committee of the KGB training center was a U.S. spy and over a period of many years conveyed facts about our young officials to their intelligence services, about hundreds and perhaps thousands of young people who had not even managed to take a single step in their practical activity.

One could even speak about another person who was assistant to Grushko, the current head of the USSR's counterintelligence and deputy chairman of the KGB—I am referring to his former personal assistant, the not-unknown Oleg Gordiyevskiy who for 16 or more years was a British intelligence agent and took away with him probably everything that could be taken away from the first chief directorate.

Thus I personally do not believe that any serious accusations can be made against me for disclosing secrets. I know the value of secrets, but that is not in question today.

[Politkovskiy] Excust me for interrupting, but are there any secrets which have not been published abroad?

[Kalugin] Of course such secrets do exist. I know them and I know which secrets I do not have the right to disclose. And evidently not all of them have been published yet because there are the appropriate circumstances and the proper time for this when they can be published. Political expediency and other considerations, state considerations and so on, can dictate the possibility of disclosing particular state secrets.

[Politkovskiy] How do you see your future? Many of our viewers and your potential electors get the impression that here was a general driving about in an official black Volga, living in a fine flat with the best of everything, but when he was offended and packed off on a pension then he began to shout about the truth.

[Kalugin] I think that this an incorrect description. I got into conflict with the leadership of the KGB as far back as 1979 when I spoke out for a scientist who had been the victim of a KGB provocation. Later, when I was sent to Leningrad because of that case, I got to know about the life of our nomenklatura elite and the party leadership who used their positions of authority in order to preserve, accumulate, and increase their privileges; and the KGB bodies were virtually in their service and ensured their security and privileges.

So then I once again had to get into conflict; in this connection I turned to the KGB leadership, the USSR Procuracy, the Party Control Committee, the CPSU Central Committee, and finally to Gorbachev. I exhausted virtually all the opportunities open to an officer and a Communist. [passage omitted]

[Politkovskiy] Having listed such a quantity of all sorts of agents of foreign special services who work in the KGB, I hope that not all KGB officials are agents of the special services and so I wish you success in the elections.

[Kalugin] Thank you.

[Politkovskiy] Here are some questions. Poznikov from Moscow asks: How does Kalugin rate his chances?

[Kalugin] I am optimistic about the outcome of the elections although I do not rule out the possibility of attempts by the apparatus to wreck the elections or to falsify them.

[Politkovskiy] Dumgnevich from Moscow asks: What is your attitude to the Russian Communist Party?

[Kalugin] As of today I know only one member of that Communist Party, Ivan Polozkov. My attitude to him is the same as to Ligachev, Kryuchkov, and company.

[Politkovskiy] A question from Kazan, unfortunately no name has been given: What is your pay?

[Kalugin] At present I am not receiving either pay or pension. I am living on my savings and on the bonus for irreproachable work received from the KGB.

[Politkovskiy] Lyubimova from Moscow asks: What can Kalugin understand about agriculture in this region, meaning the Kuban?

[Kalugin] I am not aiming for the post of chairman of the agro-industrial committee who has imposed rationing on our country, and I am not aiming for the post of Central Committee secretary who today deals with ideology and tomorrow agriculture.

[Politkovskiy] A question from Rodionov; the town is not given: Are the presenters not ashamed to campaign for a traitor who would probably also betray his homeland?

[Kalugin] I have never betrayed my homeland. It has been betrayed by those who for 70 years deceived the people, their aspirations and hopes. Moreover, I think we have the loathsome habit of trampling on the dead, calling them hangmen, the fathers of stagnation. It is much more honorable to do this while people are alive, to say this to their face. The truth must be told to people's face while they are alive.

[Politkovskiy] As far as concerns my part of this question—which is addressed to all of us presenters—in general we are not trying to please. Journalism is not prostitution. Our political position is already clear.

And now the final question, from Artemenko from Zaporozhye: What stage has been reached in your legal action against the president?

[Kalugin] The Moscow city court is still examining the papers submitted on this case. I got a strange feeling when I heard a report that they are unable to determine whether our president is an official person. It is interesting to know in whose name decrees are issued in our country today. Perhaps this is why none of them are fulfilled—because they do not know whether there is a genuine official person ruling the country.

[Politkovskiy] I understand. Thank you.

Kalugin Campaign Criticized

PM3108152590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent K. Aksenov under the rubric "Zigzags of Election Campaign": "Fueling Passions...."]

[Text] Krasnodar—Many delegates at the 28th CPSU Congress rightly spoke of a disturbing phenomenon: Voluntarily handing over power, the party is visibly losing its influence in many soviets and is sometimes even refusing to fight actively for seats. Something similar is now taking place in Krasnodar Kray where elections for national-territorial district No. 15 are being held to replace a USSR people's deputy who has resigned.

Of the 21 candidates in the first round, 15 were CPSU members. Who will win the seat? Voters themselves will answer this question which perturbs many people. As for the deputies of the kray soviet, they made their choice 29 August. The session elected N. Gorovoy, who had been filling the post of first deputy chairman of the Kray Agro-Industrial Union, chairman of the krayispolkom [kray soviet executive committee]. Nikolay Ivanovich previously worked as kolkhoz [collective farm] chairman and first secretary of a party raykom [rayon committee] and received the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. He is someone with unorthodox ideas, a creative person.... The other candidates—Z. Arabyanets, director of the "Impuls" Association; N. Kaplenko, chairman of the "Iskra" Kolkhoz from the "Kuban" Agro-Industrial Combine; and I. Gorlova, prorector of the Cultural Institute—were also well known in the Kuban. In short, a whole gallery of interesting people from Krasnodar Kray.

Experience shows that voters' trust is most worthily vindicated by those who live alongside them and grasp all the specific local problems. It also has to be borne in mind that Krasnodar Kray is mostly agricultural and people with a committed professional interest in agricultural questions enjoy a special status here.

However, as is well known the person who won most votes in the first round was O. Kalugin from Moscow, the former KGB major general. His only rival was N. Gorovoy.

Certainly a role was played by the fact that the situation surrounding Kalugin was complicated by sensationalism and inevitable rumors. He recently filed a suit against the

USSR president, the chairman of the country's Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the USSR KGB who, Kalugin believes, have taken unlawful action against him.

The course of the election campaign was also influenced by other factors.

"Can we not see that today elections are effectively taking place in multiparty conditions?" one of the candidates—Yu. Skorobogatskiy, chairman of the Sverdlov Kolkhoz in Kanevskiy Rayon—said to me before the first round. "The struggle has sharpened greatly and opponents sometimes use prohibited methods in order somehow to gain fame for themselves while driving their rivals, especially Communists, into a corner and defaming them. But you get the impression that this is of little concern to party organizations. They are displaying passiveness and apparently hoping, in the Russian way, that 'something will turn up.'"

At the All-Union Gas Refining Scientific Research and Design Institute where O. Kalugin was nominated as candidate deputy, a staff to support him has been created. Sizable forces from Moscow have also been devoted to campaigning for the candidate. The question arises: Who found it necessary to send a special campaign team to the kray and why? Leaflets, photocopies of newspapers containing features about the former general, and placards are being handed out in busy spots. Groups of "activists" from the capital and the kray are touring stations and farms, canvassing votes for Oleg Danilovich. In short, the propaganda machine is in full swing.

For instance, during O. Kalugin's meeting with the workers of the "Krasnodarskiy ZIP" Association, no party member would openly debate and argue with him. So it looked as though what Kalugin said was the truth.

However, Kalugin's "exposes" are usually designed for poorly informed people from the boondocks. The familiar theses about the perniciousness of the administrative-edict system and the dominance of the party apparatus are repeated in every way. Sparing no effort in order to brand the CPSU, whose ranks he recently left, O. Kalugin for instance stated that there is a top-secret party Central Committee document stipulating that no nomenklatura official in party, soviet, or state service can be the target of study or the collection of material by law enforcement organs. Any negative material that emerges regarding the nomenklatura must be confiscated and immediately destroyed. Thus, according to the candidate, there is a special clan in our society that is removed from the operation of the law. They are all above the law....

A serious charge, you will agree. If Kalugin is to be believed, apparently the party has bound KGB organs hand and foot in the fight against the "nomenklatura." But in actual fact—and Kalugin is certainly well aware of this—the "directive" which he has ostensibly exposed has long been public knowledge. It was adopted back in N.S. Khrushchev's time and was aimed at overcoming the consequences of the times of the Stalin cult when the KGB essentially stood above soviet and party organs and facilitated the tragedies of the brutal Stalinist era.

This document contains no privileges for nomenklatura officials and does not guarantee them forgiveness and indulgence for any crime. On the contrary, in recent years security officers, particularly those in the Kuban, have struck a powerful blow against the notorious Medunov [disgraced former Krasnodar Kraykom first secretary] web of corruption. The major crimes of the Sochi and Gelendzhik mafias have been cleared up with their active participation. Hundreds of nomenklatura officials have received harsh sentences for deviating from the norms of the law. So where does some ancient party "directive" come in here?

After the end of the meeting with members of the "Krasnodarskiy ZIP" collective, when the microphones had been switched off, the former KGB general's agent, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy T. Koryagina, mounted the stage. Fueling passions, she spoke of the mafia and racketeering, and toward the end even began to predict that (I quote verbatim) "this fall will be very hard, there will be colossal provocations...." The few dozen voters left in the hall came right up to the stage and, enraged, began to shout various slogans greatly overstepping the bounds of the election struggle.

"In principle I am not against a sharp election struggle," Kray Deputy Prosecutor Ye. Basatskiy says. "But it should be conducted not only within the bounds of the law but also while observing ethical norms, showing respect for your rival, and not displaying tactlessness and rudeness toward him. As for the present election campaign in the Kuban, all norms of relations are being violated to suit personal ambitions and for the sake of achieving the goal—winning a deputy's seat at all costs. As a professional colleague, I cannot support the methods used by O. Kalugin and his 'support team.' Clearly, in order to prevent such clashes in the future we should devise rules forbidding 'opponents' to use illicit methods arousing harsh public condemnation."

"As an ordinary voter," R. Dyachenko, team leader at the "Krasnodarskaya" Poultry Unit, expressed her opinion: "I, like many of my comrades, cannot understand why O. Kalugin and his agents had to inflame passions over the elections and themselves. Rumors, gossip, arguments, and clashes at rallies; leaflets praising the 'disgraced general'; everything has been brought into play for the sake of defeating his rival. What is especially unpleasant is the fact that during the meetings with people in the Kuban there are attacks on the country's leaders, the party, and the Soviet Army and either widely known or farfetched facts are used for this purpose. What is the point of all this? In such a situation it is very difficult for the voter to make a correct choice, and anyhow such methods are inappropriate even if you badly want to reach power."

Yes, the present election campaign is unusually turbulent and full of clashes and feuding. Unfortunately, a great deal has prompted protests from the candidates, grievances, and irritation among voters. There have been insulting remarks about the president and the country's government and candidates and USSR and RSFSR people's deputies and Communists have been defamed. Matters have reached the point where a number of agents—A. Makarov, M. Chuvin, A. Grishanov, Yu. Bevstruk, A. Markov, N. Denisov, A. Zheltikov, and G. Bulgakov—have voiced a protest against these methods, the fueling of emotions and passions, and the rally hysteria and disorders....

Small wonder that many voters did not take part in the first round of the elections. The second round will show whether Krasnodar's people have managed to make their choice and realize which of the candidates is worthy of their trust.

KGB Responds to 'Absurd' Kalugin Assertions

LD0109185190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today we received the following announcement from the public relations center of the KGB of the USSR:

In his appearance on different media, including television, former KGB General Kalugin is continuing to deceive public opinion by disseminating his own inventions about a number of present and former KGB workers.

Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB, and his deputy, Grushko, did not have an aide who went down the path of betrayal. The traitor Gordiyevskiy named by him was never an aide. Incidentally, Gordiyevskiy managed to conceal his connections with foreign intelligence for a long time precisely during the years when the one responsible for the section in which that person worked was Kalugin.

Kalugin's assertions about illegal foreign currency operations by the intelligence service look very absurd.

News concerning the former KGB general forces us to mention yesterday's edition of the Vremya program where we spoke about Gorovoy, the new chairman of the Krasnodar Kray Executive Committee. The fact is that Kalugin and Gorovoy are rivals for the seat of USSR people's deputy for Krasnodar constituency. The two of them remain out of 21 candidates. In publishing information about the candidates and giving them television air time, it is as if we are becoming unwilling participants in the election fight in this constituency. But don't let us be accused of journalistic cliches: the electors of Krasnodar will have the last word.

[Moscow TASS in English at 2016 GMT on 1 September, datelined Moscow, carries a similar announcement from the KGB Public Relations Center. The TASS English version adds the following: "Kalugin has evidently made up his mind to reach his ends by any means. His appearance on the Vzglyad program is yet another illustration of this."]

Construction of Bashkiriya AES Halted

LD0409071690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The deputies of Bashkiriya are summing up their work. Yesterday evening an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet ended. We have just received a report that a deision has been adopted on halting the construction of the nuclear electric power station [AES] on the borders with Tataria, Udmurtia, and Bashkiriya. This was done because the project had an insufficient economic and ecological basis. The station will be mothballed and then the base redesignated. Thus the two-year battle by the public against the erection of the AES in Bashskiriya has ended.

The session also decided to forbid raising the level of the Nizhnekamskiy hydroelectric power station reservoir above than the 62-meter mark. Otherwise a huge area of good land could be flooded.

Further on Tatar Sovereignty Declaration

LD3108163190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A session of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration on state sovereignty. Here is our correspondent, I. Latypov:

[Latypov] I have in my hand the text of the adopted declaration, and I shall acquaint you with some of its provisions and clauses. The word autonomous has been removed from the republic's name and it will henceforth be known as the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Republic of Tatarstan. The land, subsoil, natural wealth, and other resources on the territory of the republic are the exclusive property of its people. All citizens resident in Tatarstan, irrespective of their nationality, social origins, religious, or political convictions, are guaranteed equal rights and freedoms. The Tatar and Russian languages will have equal rights and function as state languages. The constitution and laws of the Tatar SSR are supreme throughout the territory of the Tatar SSR.

The declaration was unanimously adopted in a named vote. As a sovereign Soviet republic, Tatarstan will have its own anthem and state emblems. The declaration forms the basis for drawing up a new constitution of the Tatar SSR, and came into force from the moment it was adopted.

[Announcer] As far as we are aware, the government supports the adoption of sovereignty by the republics, although, as one politician joked off the record, this way we might end up with sovereign oblasts, sovereign rayons, and sovereign towns. And there is a grain of bitter truth in this joke: Just how far are we going to divide? In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic alone there are more than 100 peoples and ethnic groups. This issue is all the more topical given that the developed capitalist countries are going through a process of unification.

Western Republics

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Opens Emergency Session

Reacts to Gagauz Proclamation

LD0209143990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 2 Sep (TASS)—In connection with the exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Moldova has begun its work here today. The complication of the situation has been caused by the proclamation at the congress of Gagauz deputies, which took place on 19 August, of a declaration "On the Freedom and Independence of the Gagauz People From the Republic of Moldova," and also by today's emergency congress of deputies of the left bank of the Dnestr aimed at setting up another autonomous republic, of the left bank.

Mirchya Snegur, the chairman of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet, in his report at the session evaluated the illegal activities of the leaders of separatism as unconstructive actions which crudely violate the republic's Constitution, the declaration of sovereignty adopted, and other legislative acts. He proposed that deputies take effective measures on protecting the republic's interests and that the organizers of such demonstrations be held liable, even criminally.

As emergency measures the majority propose to introduce in Moldova the post of president and direct presidential rule in regions that fail to obey the republic's Constitution, to create national military formations starting in the autumn of this year, to deprive the organizers of anticonstitutional congresses of their powers as deputies, to dissolve local soviets that fail to acknowledge the laws of the Republic of Moldova, and to urgently adopt a law on citizenship of the republic.

Institutes Presidential Rule

LD0309101790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0930 GMT 3 Sep 90

[TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas report]

[Text] Late on Sunday evening, an extraordinary session of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decided to institute presidential rule in the republic. This is made necessary by the deteriorating sociopolitical situation in the republic following the promulgation of the Gagauz and Dnestr republics. In the decision adopted at the session, the deputies condemn as "destructive and separatist" the actions of the leaders of the disbanded Gagauz people's movement "Gagauz Khalky," the Organizational Committee of the Association of People's Deputies of Dnestr Area, and certain members of the "Soviet Moldavia" parliamentary group of deputies. It was also decided to draw up and adopt normative acts stipulating that citizens of Moldova carry out their military service on the territory of the republic.

The Club of USSR People's Deputies from the Moldovan SSR have sent an appeal to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev describing the promulgation of the Gagauz and Dnestr republics as illegal acts that are directly at variance with the declaration of sovereignty.

Annuls Dnestr Decision

LD0309112290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0913 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Kishinev, 3 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas report:

A Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] within the USSR was proclaimed at an emergency congress of deputies of all levels from the left bank region of Moldova which ended late on Sunday night in Tiraspol. It includes the towns of Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, and Dubossary, as well as rayons of Moldova that are situated on the left bank of the Dnestr.

The resolution passed by the emergency congress notes that a referendum could be held before 1 November 1990 on the territory covered by those soviets whose populations have not yet expressed their will on the issue of their entry into the Dnestr republic. The participants in the congress declared Tiraspol to be the capital of the republic.

The participants in the emergency congress confirmed the republic's Provisional Supreme Soviet in its powers up until 1 December 1990. As the congress resolution states, all property in the Dnestr region that belongs to the SSR of Moldova passes to the Dnestr Republic. USSR laws and Moldovan laws passed before 1989 are operational on its territory. The rayon and town departments of internal affairs situated on the territory of the republic, which henceforth will be subordinate to the Provisional Supreme Soviet and the USSR Internal Ministry, will defend the decisions of the congress.

The Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova has annulled the decisions of the emergency congress in Tiraspol, declaring them "anticonstitutional." In its opinion, they are aimed at an illegal change in the state structure of the

Moldovan SSR, and at breaking up the territorial integrity of the sovereign Republic of Moldova.

'Dnestr Republic' Takes Defiant Stand

LD0309162290 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev September 3 TASS—The provisional Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Dnestr republic continues its work in defiance of the Moldovan parliament, which cancelled the decisions of the extraordinary congress of deputies of the left-bank of the Dnestr. The congress proclaimed the sovereignty of the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic as part of the USSR. Today deputies began forming the state bodies of the republic.

The 50 people's deputies to its parliament drafted an address and other documents to be sent to the president and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, requesting the new republic's admittance into the USSR.

The resolution of the congress, which proclaimed the sovereignty of the Dnestr Republic, provides for establishing a bank and converting the Dnestr PRAVDA, the organ of the Tiraspol City Council, into a republican newspaper.

"The city party committee has drafted a platform 'for equal rights,' which outlines short-term actions in current conditions," a spokesman for the city council told TASS. "But only after discussing this document in primary party organizations at workplaces one can judge the role and place of the party in the Dnestr republic."

While leaders of the Dnestr region are busy creating government structures, the Moldovan parliament endorsed by two-thirds a draft law "On the Establishment of the Post of President and Introduction of Changes and Amendments Into the Constitution of the Republic." If this bill is voted into law and a president elected, the illegally-created Dnestr republic could be administered by direct presidential rule.

100,000 Demonstrate in Lvov Against Union Treaty

LD0309204790 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Miron Pavlyust]

[Text] Lvov, Western Ukraine, September 4 TASS—About 100,000 demonstrators gathered in Lvov on Monday to protest against the signing of a Union treaty.

The rally was organised by the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Rukh National Movement, the Democratic Union of the Ukraine, the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers and the Civil Rights Committee.

Anti-treaty rallies were also held in other towns of Lvov region.

The region has been swept by rallies in the past few days. The Committee of Soldiers' Mothers picketed the headquarters of the Carpathian Military District to demand that their sons serving in other parts of the country be returned to the Ukraine.

In other developments, people in Lvov region are campaigning for the removal of a statue of Lenin. However, this move has provoked protests in the region. Protesters have begun collecting signatures under an appeal demanding that "vandalism be stopped."

Lenin statues were already toppled in the Ukrainian cities of Chervonograd and Nikolayev.

Demonstrators Condemn CPSU

LD0309215190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2012 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Interethnic problems in our country have so exacerbated to an extent beyond which some kind of qualitative changes occur. There are very many grounds for pessimistically appraising these future changes in advance.

[Correspondent P. Savchak] Late in the evening, by the building of the Ivan Franko opera and ballet theater in Lvov, a rally was held in which more than 100,000 people took part. They were chanting, "No to the new Union treaty," and "More independence for the Ukraine." The speakers demanded that the republic's Supreme Soviet should immediately pass a law on the authority and a new constitution for the Ukraine. In the resolution adopted, the activity of the CPSU was condemned and it was demanded that its property should be nationalized. Those present spoke out in favor of setting up a Ukrainian national army. If all these demands are not realized, the labor collectives retain the right to announce strikes and to achieve the dissolution of the republic's parliament and government.

Caucasus

Armenian Parliament Declares State of Emergency

Number of Crimes Decreasing

LD0109132290 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Yerevan September 1 TASS—A session of the Armenian parliament continued in a calm situation today. The declaration of a state of emergency in Yerevan created pre-conditions for stabilizing public order and the operation of the municipal economy services. The number of crimes, especially those involving the use of weapons, has sharply fallen.

Deputies received this information with satisfaction and got down to the discussion of items on the session agenda. Debates flared up anew on candidates for the parliament's working bodies—standing commissions and their chairmen. Under discussion today is the composition of the commission on agriculture and related industries.

Arutyunyan Discusses Curfew

LD0109182290 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Yerevan September 1 TASS—Sound prerequisites for stabilizing the situation in Armenia were created during the past 24 hours, deputy chairman of the republican parliament Gagik Arutyunyan told the session here today.

According to Arutyunyan, people received with understanding the need to impose a curfew and a state of emergency and assist authorities in the establishment of the needed order.

Measures are being taken to suppress unlawful activities by groups and individuals. The number of crimes, especially involving arms has been drastically reduced. So the parliament is likely to lift the curfew partially.

Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan of Armenia named the first candidates for a new republican government. A month was allotted for the formation of the new government, but the prime minister said that the situation in the republic calls for the immediate approval of the heads of the Interior Ministry and the State Security Committee.

He nominated former Deputy Interior Minister Karlos Kazarian, who is now acting as minister, for the ministerial post. Usik Arutyunyan was nominated for the chairman of the State Security Committee. Usik Arutyunyan was interior minister until last April and was second in command at the Armenian State Security Committee before that.

Parliament will vote on the candidates after discussion later today.

Federation Voices Support

NC3108181890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] The Yerevan Press and Information Office of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation has announced the following: The Armenian Revolutionary Federation's central office in Armenia expresses its support for the decisions adopted by the Armenian Supreme Soviet to establish law and order and condemns those armed actions which cause lawlessness and in no way contribute to the defense of the fatherland.

National Army Told To Disband

PM3108134390

[Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 August 1990 carries on pages 1 and 4 under the headline "Armenia: Time for Resolute Action" a 1,400-word report by own correspondent G. Karapetyan detailing the buildup to the "capitulation" of the Armenian National Army [ANA] forces. Karapetyan quotes from the official report by L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, who states that the ANA leaders initially tried to dictate terms for their surrender, to which the authorities refused to agree, and finally gave themselves up "without a shot being fired." According to Ter-Petrosyan, there will be no criminal proceedings against those ANA members who voluntarily carried out the parliamentary resolution. Noting that they had already transferred most of their weapons to safe storage, he states that the authorities' attempts to get these weapons back will be "patient." The state of emergency, Ter-Petrosyan notes, will probably last another two months, but if the situation gets back to normal the curfew may be reduced by a couple of hours. Karapetyan concludes as follows:

"Thus, the new authorities have passed their first and most serious test. I would recall that, during talks in Moscow and in a phone call to M. Gorbachev immediately after his appointment, the chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet asked that the new authorities be given a chance to normalize the situation in the republic themselves, without outside interference. As we can see, the new authorities' words are not at variance with their difficult actions. But the most important point is that none of the soldiers' mothers in Russia, the Ukraine, and Central Asia have had to weep bitter tears over innocent casualties."

Armenian KGB Seizes Firearms

NC3108164490 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Statement issued by the Armenian Committee for State Security; place and date not given]

[Text] Yerevan, 31 Aug (ARMENPRES)—"The first peaceful night in Yerevan." This is how Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, described the night that followed the parliament's declaration of a state of emergency throughout Armenia.

These were encouraging words, words of reconciliation and words of confidence in the wisdom of our people. This was the first time recently that the people realized that there is a supreme authority in the republic which is ready to defend the citizens' peace.

As everyone knows, the Armenian National Army was disbanded by a decision of parliament on 29 August and called upon to surrender its arms by 2200 that evening, evacuate its premises, and return stolen vehicles.

The situation was extremely tense. The two forces were on the verge of clashing. [Word indistinct] any resistance would have resulted in bloodshed. [Words indistinct] every attempt was made to check extremism. [Words indistinct] the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry and the Committee for State Security [words indistinct] had surrounded the building housing them. The forces of the Internal Affairs Ministry encircled the entire district using armored cars. Meanwhile, members of the Armenian National Army, particularly the group's leaders, were working together with the people's deputies to persuade the leaders of the armed organizations to submit to the Supreme Soviet. [Words indistinct] that achieved results: After midnight the guerrillas in the building were disarmed.

Firearms, 700 kg of explosives, large amounts of ammunition, handmade explosive devices, chemicals which have not yet been identified, and stolen vehicles were seized.

Unfortunately, most of the guerrillas belonging to the Armenian National Army and other illegal armed groups have not yet heeded the voice of reason and [words indistinct]. They still hold large amounts of arms. A great and arduous task lies ahead for the security forces [words indistinct]. (?Without help from people), we cannot be successful. Armenian villages and cities (?could regain their tranquillity) if the population gives broad support to the first steps of the democratic parliament of the Armenian republic.

[Signed] Armenian Committee for State Security

Weapons, Vehicles Being Seized

LD0309143190 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 3 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Arms, ammunition and vehicles are still being confiscated from illegal militarised units in Armenia, where a state of emergency was imposed last Wednesday [29 August]. The Soviet Interior Ministry reports that 136 firearms and 44 mortars were surrendered or confiscated from August 27-September 1, as well as eleven hail guns, 255 shells, 166 grenades, some 13,000 charges and 48 vehicles.

TASS learned at the USSR Interior Ministry Press Centre that two hail guns and 24 shells were confiscated in Armenia's Martuni district on Saturday [1 September]. Two hail guns stolen from Gatap [name as received] village on January 21 were discovered and delivered to the district agency of the Interior Ministry in Ekhegnadzor [name as received] district.

Members of militant organisations in Cherentsavan [name as received] surrendered two submachine-guns, two grenades, cartridges and a stolen car. Two sporting rifles and 252 shells of hand-made grenades were surrendered in Artashat district. On Saturday and Sunday police discovered and confiscated 44 cars.

TASS learned at the Interior Ministry Press Centre that units of the Armenian National Army (ANA) in Spitak and Leninakan disbanded n the past two days. The "David of Sasun" armed unit announced its disbandment in Akhuryan district. The staff of ANA unit "Elar" was disbanded in Abovyan.

The USSR Interior Ministry reports show, however, that mass disarming and disbandment of ANA units is not taking place. Militants are still in possession of large amounts of firearms.

Situation 'Slightly' Stabilized

LD3108165690 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 31 TASS—The situation in Armenia after the announcement of the curfew has stabilized slightly and is likely to improve, Armenian acting Interior Minister Karlos Kazaryan told the republican parliament today.

Members of the Armenian National Army [ANA], which announced on Thursday that it was disbanding itself, are voluntarily turning in weapons and military equipment throughout Armenia.

More than a dozen detachments have been disbanded and some 50 automatic weapons surrendered. ANA's food store, which contained roughly a million rubles' worth of goods, was discovered. Law enforcement [word indistinct] supported by the public, continue to carry out checks in order to confiscate illegally-held weapons.

Babken Aratskyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, urged parliamentarians to draft a special statement on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Shaumyan region of Azerbaijan, where, he said, "the Armenian population is being harassed by Azerbaijani authorities."

Then the Armenian Supreme Soviet stopped its proceedings for the day to allow deputies to pay their last respects to their colleague Viktor Aivazyan and member of the paramilitary force Gbkhaznik Mikaelyan. As is known, the two men were heading for talks with the ANA leadership on the night of August 28, when they were fatally wounded by militants of this organization.

Citizens Support Measures

NC3108170090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] According to information from the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry, (?26) crimes were committed in the republic, 12 of them in Yerevan. One bandit attack, two thefts, an incident involving bodily injury, [word indistinct] theft of state and private property, and 12 seizures of vehicles, including two in Yerevan, were reported.

An analysis of the situation over the last two days indicates that the republic's population understands and approves of the measures being taken and fully supports the efforts to implement the state of emergency and curfew.

Supreme Soviet Holds Session

NC3108175890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet session today continued its deliberations, which were mostly devoted to the examination of the formation of the parliamentary commissions and scrutiny of the candidates for the chairmanship of the commissions.

The session was informed that the process of disarming the armed groups of the Armenian National Army and the other armed elements is continuing successfully within the framework of the state of emergency declared in Armenia. Ten armed groups of the Armenian National Army have voluntarily surrendered their weapons and one arms depot was handed over to the authorities. Informing the deputies about this, (?Karlo) Kazaryan, acting minister of internal affairs of Armenia, noted that the state of emergency and the curfew imposed in the republic aims at fully normalizing the situation in Armenia.

Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian parliament, informed the session that the situation remains tense in northern Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen. A tense situation has also developed in the NKAO's Askeranskiy Rayon where the Azerbaijanis have increased their pressure.

The session ended its deliberations earlier than usual today. The deputies and people from the vicinity of Yerevan sorrowfully participated in the burial ceremony for People's Deputy Vidya [as heard] Ayvazyan and Keghazmik Mikayelyan, alias Chaush, a member of the detachment for the protection of the public order, which took place at Freedom Square in the capital.

Armenian Armed Group Member Interviewed

90US1268A Vilnius LETUVOS RITAS in Russian 30 Jul-4 Aug 90 pp 6-7

[Article by R. Lazauskayte: "Bearded Men With Double-Barrel Rifles"]

[Text] LETUVOS RITAS special correspondent R. Lazauskayte met with fighters of self-defense detachments in the mountains of Armenia.

"If you want, we will organize a meeting for you with Catholicos Vozgen when he is baptizing refugees from Baku in Sevan," proposed a journalist colleague in Yerevan. "Or, if you wish, we will lure Gdlyan himself from the Supreme Soviet session and chat with him. But for God's sake, do not ask to talk with our fedayeen."

What does that word mean?

By reading two historical novels, I gleaned the following: In 1860 the gallant fighters who opposed the invasion of the Turkish Army called themselves fedayeen. The Turks were armed and well trained by German specialists, while the sole weapon of the fedayeen was often a saber, along with the common stone by the side of the road. And, of course, reckless courage. With these they saved their people from complete annihilation.

The honored name "fedayee" belongs not only to the past. Registration of volunteers for the self-defense detachments was undertaken this spring in Yerevan on Komitas Street. The people soon called them fedayeen. Not relying on assault troops, whose presence has not brought peace to either Armenia or Azerbaijan, the Armenians have decided to take responsibility for the defense of their own land. Rifles belonging to the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for Cooperation With the Armed Forces] and green uniforms without insignia were distributed to them. They were moved into special barracks. Lists of fedayeen were established in the Yerevan headquarters of the self-defense detachments. And one more detail—they all grew beards.

My colleagues proposed bringing me to the headquarters and conducting the interview there. But I wanted to talk with genuine fedayeen, preferably somewhere on the border zone, not commanders in their offices.

Eventually my colleagues gave in. Today's fedayeen are not those who existed in the 19th century. Those others had an extremely strict code of honor, whereas today's....

On Saturday morning, the residents of Yerevan set off in their cars for Sevan to escape the intense 40-degree heat. Suddenly in the very thick of traffic, spurning any rules, two Zhigulis sped past at a speed of 120 kilometers per hour—without license plates and with horns blaring. I was dumbfounded:

"Where is your traffic inspector?"

"The inspectors have hidden themselves out of fear. For all they know, someone will shoot at them from a car."

A uniform without shoulder boards and cars without license plates—these are the distinguishing mark of the fedayeen. When they need gasoline (and Armenia is especially short on this product), they drive up to the first gas station they see, shoot at the windows, and pump themselves as much as they like. There is no need to shoot up the dining halls: Once he sees a fedayeen, the director himself brings out the best of everything in the kitchen. There is no mention of payment.

Once fedayeen were taking weapons from militiamen in Artashat. One of the traffic inspectors put up a fight and shot a fedayee. In revenge the fedayeen killed the local militia and burned the GAI [State Automobile Inspection] posts. As a result, throughout all Armenia two tanks now guard each two-story booth of the GAI around the clock. The tank crewmen are in body armor and metal helmets and do not let their weapons out of their hands. You can imagine how they feel in the 40-degree heat.

In the meantime the booths they are guarding are empty. The traffic inspectors and militiamen are on strike in response to the fact that the authorities do not protect them from the self-defense detachments.

How did it happen that a movement born in the midst of the people has turned against them?

I did not especially count on receiving an answer to this question from the fedayeen themselves. By Saturday evening the road into the mountains was almost empty. People go to Sevan on all their days off.

Our trip, peaceful for the most part, was interrupted by four armed men who came out onto the road. One of my colleagues sighed:

"You will be happy to know that these are your beloved fedayeen."

While the "beloved" men checked the front car, I recovered from my fright a bit and noticed that two of the watch were armed with common double-barrel hunting rifles. I thought, "That means that these are not the type who attack soldiers and militiamen to take weapons from them. I will try to talk with them." And none of my travelling companions managed to grab me by the sleeve as I thrust open the door. The first thing that I saw was two barrels turned toward me. Submissively but playfully I raised my hands over my head and quickly declared, "Good evening, I am a journalist. I am from Lithuania. Could you give me an interview for LETUVOS RITAS?"

The bearded men lowered their rifles and began to laugh.

"Put down your hands. Do you really think that I am going to shoot at LETUVOS RITAS? But we have some time—just until the next car approaches."

Here is the interview.

[Lazauskayte] Can you tell me your name?

[Meliksetryan] Vagram Meliksetryan. I am an English teacher and I teach in a secondary school.

[Lazauskayte] Why do the Armenians themselves have varying opinions about the fedayeen? Some people consider them national heroes while others say they are common highwaymen.

[Meliksetryan] That is a troublesome question. Our first fighters, who went straight from Komitas Street to the border, right into the fray, swore to observe the code of the fedayeen—not to cause harm to the wives and children of the enemy, not to touch noncombatant residents, and only to defend Armenians from murderers and perpetrators of violence. Somehow we ourselves did not notice when and how our detachments came to be penetrated by felons, thieves, and hardened criminals who have been let out of the jails. One murderer was sentenced to 15 years, but before he had even served half of his sentence he somehow ended up in Armenia. He gathered around himself a detachment of almost 2,000 men, and he is "playing the lord" in two rayons. This is how the movement discredits itself and the situation is destabilized in Armenia.

[Lazauskayte] What are you searching the passing cars for?

[Meliksetryan] Not far from here a military unit was attacked and 38 carbines were taken. Not a single piece of weaponry ended up in our detachment, even though the operation was certainly carried out by fedayeen. As you see, we genuine fedayeen are armed very poorly. I will tell you about one incident. A month ago the residents of one border town reported that Azeris were threatening to drive off their livestock. We observed that the enemy forces were significantly superior to ours. Before our retreat we tied two powerful searchlights to the back of a donkey and drove it toward the border. We had a laugh the next day when we read in the paper that Armenians were using laser technology in the border wars. And in the meantime the fake fedayeen have Kalashnikov assault rifles and even artillery for weapons. But these weapons are turned against their own people. The battle is not being fought for the well-being of the people but for spheres of influence of armed groups.

[Lazauskayte] How many fedayeen are there in Armenia? I was told that there are about 5,000.

[Meliksetryan] There is a list at the headquarters. But there are probably about 25,000-30,000 armed fighters who are not registered there.

[Lazauskayte] But how are fedayeen differentiated from common fighters?

[Meliksetryan] Our Supreme Soviet has resolved to dress the militia in fedayeen uniform and send representatives to all the detachments to clear up who is who.

[Lazauskayte] (Hearing the noise of an approaching car, I quickly asked the last question:) What is your attitude toward Lithuania?

[Meliksetryan] You are a civilized people with a sense of your own worth. Gorbachev threatened you, and Landsbergis answered, "We will not examine your message today because we are celebrating Easter." When a people respects itself, others will also respect it.

* * *

Vagram conducted me to the car, politely shut the door, and by a gesture let the driver know that we were free to go. A dead silence reigned in the car for 10 minutes. In that silence a sense of the time and place returned to me: 2254 on 21 July, Razdan, Armenia.

And then a voice next to me asked, "What is the matter with you? Don't you care for your life? Did you come here from Lithuania just so you could be shot?"

"No," I defended myself in all seriousness, "life is important to me."

And to myself I added, "In Lithuania."

P.S. By edict of the president of the USSR, the self-defense detachments must be disbanded and weapons in their possession must be handed over. The Supreme Soviet of Armenia has declared that this edict will not be carried out.

Tension Continues on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border

Azerbaijan Demands Action

LD0309081590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0718 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Baku, 3 Sep (AZERINFORM-TASS)—The Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan has described the armed attacks from the territory of Armenia as aggression. The supreme organ of state power in this Soviet Transcaucasian republic believes that the aim is the territorial dismemberment of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

The republican parliament has demanded that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR president take urgent steps to disarm the Armenian armed formations and to insure the defense of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The republican Supreme Soviet has asked the UN secretary general to bring this information to the attention of members of the international community.

Situation Reported 'Tense'

LD0309164590 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Stepanakert September 3 TASS—The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains complex and unstable, according to a report from the commandant's office for Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent regions of Azerbaijan.

On the night of August 30, unidentified people blew up a cliff in the Mardakert region of Nagorno-Karabakh, disrupting transportation to the village Nareshtar in Azerbaijan.

Automatic fire was exchanged for 20 minutes on September 1 between the village Farukh, in Azerbaijan's Askeran region, and the village Dzhinly, in the Agdam region adjacent to the autonomous region. There were no casualties. On the same day a "Moskvich" car with three passengers from the Agdam region was detained near Farukh. Three hunting rifles, ammunition and knives were confiscated.

There have been recent attempts to disrupt vital supplies to the population of Stepanakert. For example, on September 1 unidentified people poured petroleum products into a water intake that supplied the regional centre with water. TASS was told at the local water authority that 50 percent of the population was left without water supplies, which are being delivered by tank-trucks. Measures are being taken to clean the water intake.

Yesterday evening electric supplies were disrupted in Stepanakert for 30 minutes.

A special group from the USSR Interior Ministry, the Nagorno-Karabakh militia and regional departments of the interior are investigating all these events.

Military Troops Guard Borders

LD0309195590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report by correspodent M. Mamedov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Mamedov] The borders between Azerbaijan and Armenia today are literally under lock and key.

There are military units in each of the 16 settlements in Tauz Rayon, situated along the border with the neighboring republic. They are equipped with everything they need to rebuff bandit formations. But all the same every evening women and children from these villages set off for the rayon center where you can't hear the bursts of automatic fire at night.

[Colonel A.V. Kutikov, deputy division commander] Although the Armenian national army has been liquidated individual formations of extremists are continuing to terrorize the civilian population in Azerbaijan.

[Major General V.A. Guseynov, chairman of the Azerbaijan KGB] The population in our republic is particularly worried by the poor way in which anticonstitutional formations are being disarmed and first and foremost by the fact that up to now flame throwers have not been found.

[Mamedov] It's currently harvesting time in Tauz Rayon. The harvesting of the main agricultural crop, grapes, is under way. It is taking place under the vigilant eye of an armed militia. You see, more than one incident has been registered in which Armenian extremists tried to take hostages or to open fire.

This, perhaps, is the main news of the day: A powerful clandestine radio station has been discovered in one of the homes in the village of Chaykend, where there is an Armenian population. The village is in Khalanskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. The station's range is 1,500 km. As confirmed by specialists of the Internal Affairs Ministry, who tracked down its work, orders were transmitted via the radio station to Yerevan for deliveries of essential ammunition, weapons, and explosives, and also times were agreed upon for unmarked helicopters to fly to this populated area. In this way yet another channel has been closed off for the deliveries of weapons. All one can do is wait to see what the so-called Armenian militants will undertake next.

Therefore today, virtually everywhere in Azerbaijan, people are debating the question of whether we too shouldn't set up our own national army.

Artsakh People Issue Appeal

NC3108103690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] The people of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO] have made the following appeal: Compatriots, in our nation's difficult hour the people of Artsakh again call on you to unite. Now that we have taken the road of independence, we need more than ever an able administration to lead the republic to democracy and real prosperity. The popularly elected new parliament of Armenia is such an administration, and we pin our hopes for a final solution to the fundamental question of Artsakh and for the creation of a strong and independent republic on its activities. For that, all forces must unite and there should be political stability. We condemn every attempt to divert the parliament from the course laid down by the nation. We regard this conscious attempt to destabilize the situation as treason against the pan- national interests.

Compatriots, we call on and appeal to all those for whom the ideals of freedom and independence is dear to coalesce around the parliament, follow its decisions, and resolutely reject those forces that are pushing the people toward a civil war. We appeal to you take this road for the sake of independent Armenia and for the future of Artsakh. Our strength lies in our unity.

[Signed] The National Council of NKAO and NKAO Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

Border Situation Reviewed

PM3108111590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Dolgikh article under the rubric "Transcaucasus: Political Situation": "Conflagration of Hostility"]

[Text] Over the past two months I have visited Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Belorussia, and Azerbaijan. But, of course, in terms of acuteness and tension the situation which has taken shape in the Transcaucasus today is beyond comparison with what I have seen and heard in the other republics.

So, in what way is the situation now taking shape in the region dangerous? Above all—and in my view this is the chief point—there is the presence of a large number of weapons which have fallen into the hands of the population in various ways. According to a report made available to me at the Baku Special Region military commandant's office, during the period from last December through 25 August this year 133 combat weapons were stolen in Azerbaijan and 2,966 in Armenia; the respective figures for hunting rifles were 6,417 and 2,605, and for practice weapons—four and 904. Now let us see how many weapons were confiscated or surrendered during the same period. Combat weapons—1,900 in Azerbaijan and 468 in Armenia; hunting weapons—2,332 and 1,650 respectively; practice weapons—1,345 and 24.

Incidentally, not so long ago, as is known, the Armenian guerrillas' arsenal was supplemented by hand-held rocket launchers, including a considerable quantity of ammunition. A few words about this armament. It is designed for combat against troops dug in in shelters. The ammunition, based on an incendiary projectile with four kilograms of fuel, can hit targets at a range of up to 400 meters. It is not hard to imagine what would happen if one such "bulb" were to pass through the window or open door of premises where people were present.

So far, fortunately, the guerrillas have not ventured to use the rocket launchers during their recent provocations on the Azerbaijani-Armenian border. But where is the guarantee that this will not happen in the very near future? As people in the know testify, the Armenian guerrilla today is paid at least 500 rubles a month just for belonging to a particular militarized organization, not counting involvement in armed provocations, for which he gets a bonus. These formations are made up of well-trained people who have received training both in the Army and in their own special camps.

Terrorists from the so-called ANA [Armenian National Army] recently tested themselves in fighting against Soviet Army subunits and USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops. Although the attackers suffered considerable losses (more than 50 killed and 150 injured), nevertheless it did not cool their ardor. Large groupings of ANA forces and materiel are still concentrated in various sections of the border with Azerbaijan and are ready to launch active combat operations at any moment. The situation is also exacerbated by the fact that the ANA leadership ignores L. Ter-Petrosyan, the present leader of Armenia, just as it did the republic's former leadership.

L. Ter-Petrosyan recently admitted that he controls only half the armed formations now in Armenia. Therefore the majority of specialists do not hide their skepticism concerning his assurances that all the weapons seized earlier will be confiscated by his forces within two months. What is more, they are being seized practically every day. Thus, more than 20 armed terrorists attacked a Soviet Army subunit in Oktemberyanskiy Rayon 26 August. They seized a machine gun, three submachine guns, and six grenades. The attackers got away.

There are fears that the disjointed actions by individual bandit formations are a temporary phenomenon. It is quite likely that at a certain time they could act as a united front. And this means neither more nor fewer than some 30,000-40,000 well-armed and trained men. They have artillery, tanks, and aircraft. For example, they made active use of helicopters in combat operations in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon. True, they have not yet used them as firing platforms—only to deliver personnel and ammunition and also to evacuate the wounded. But it is not for nothing that people say: The first step is the hardest. They will probably be able to equip the helicopters with the necessary armaments....

I do not know how reliable this information is, but many of the citizens of Armenian nationality with whom I have spoken both in Armenia itself and in Nagorno-Karabakh are convinced that their neighbor today has at least 14,000 weapons trained on them. Therefore, they say, it is a vital necessity to create their own arsenals. At the same time they are in no way put out by the fact that the weapons have been plundered. They are ours all the same, they say, since they were created with the people's money. Such is their philosophy. But when I asked my interlocutors why the Azerbaijanis, having such a quantity of weapons, do not use them, they put it down to oriental cunning and a desire to bank up the fire by other people's hands; that is, the hands of Soviet Army soldiers and USSR MVD Internal Troops. It is they, as we know, who have protected Azerbaijani villages and their inhabitants against piratical raids by Armenian terrorists in past days.

Hatred of the Soviet soldier is now being fanned to the utmost among the Armenian population. At the same time a campaign in defense of the guy in military uniform, obliged to extinguish the conflagration of interethnic enmity, has been mounted in other parts of the country. There is no denying that Soviet Army and Internal Troops servicemen are having a hard time today. They never thought or guessed that they would have to shed blood in their own country. However, be that as it may, their mere presence alone sobers many intoxicated heads. Who is it there who hates them? The peaceful inhabitants of Armenia and Azerbaijan, who long for a quiet life? Of course not. They are hated by robbers and killers who seek easy gain.

I will point out that the military could have suffered fewer losses during these days if they had not ended up in a "stupid situation," as they themselves maintain. Thus, they are categorically prohibited from undertaking any actions against armed guerrillas if they are on Armenian territory. This is because a state of emergency has been imposed on the Azerbaijani side of the border, but not on the Armenian. But any sane-minded person would ask: What is the need for a state of emergency here if we have banned illegal possession of weapons?

The servicemen serving in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] also have an unenviable lot. But, despite everything, they are doing their military duty with honor. I recall a nighttime tour of Stepanakert which I made with Lieutenant Colonel A. Ishchuk, an officer in the commandant's office political department. First we visited the airport. There platoon commander Lieutenant Oleg Zhebelev had been on a difficult mission with his subordinates for several days.

The soldiers were already dropping from tiredness but remained imperturbable. As for the lieutenant himself, despite his short time as an officer—just one year—this was already his second lengthy assignment to a "hot spot." In January-March this year he was in Baku. Everyone knows today what was going on there then.

As we drove away from the airport, Oleg shook our hands firmly and said:

"Don't worry, we won't let you down."

I am sure that this was not bravado.

No one can say how the situation in this region will take shape in the immediate future. Moreover, the question of creating their own army in Azerbaijan is already on the agenda. V. Gasanov, chairman of the republic KGB, reported this 25 August during a news conference for correspondents of central and republican newspapers.

"At any rate," he pointed out, "our people must be sure of their future."

I would want only that common sense prevails over emotions. Whatever happens, a bad peace is still better than a war.

Weapons Confiscated in NKAO

LD3108130990 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Baku August 31 AZERINFORM-TASS—Mortars, explosives, two-way radios and other weapons confiscated from the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of Azerbaijan (Transcaucasia) were deposited at army depots today. The operation to confiscate illegally possessed arms was carried out by Interior Ministry troops and staffers of the operational investigation group of the Soviet Interior Ministry.

TASS learned at the commandants' office of the district that these operations are being conducted in connection with the decree of the Soviet president to help ease the tension in the autonomous region. Staffers of the commandants' office believe that a complete normalisation in Nagorno-Karabakh has not yet been achieved.

In Mardakert, the centre of the district of the same name with a predominantly Armenian population, a crowd tried to attack an official of the Interior Ministry department in the district.

Acting Commandant Colonel Ovchinnikov said that a unit on patrol protecting public order was fired on in Stepanakert two days ago. A serviceman was wounded.

The editor of the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, who was accused of printing provocative materials, was reprimanded.

A statement of the commandants' office broadcast over local radio says that such attitude of officials will be regarded as deliberate actions to incite confrontation between residents and servicemen.

Guard Killed Defending Depot

PM3108161190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[I. Andreyev report under general heading: "Transcaucasus: The Difficult Road to Peace"]

[Text] Major General Yu. Popelskiy, deputy chief of staff of sector troops [voyska napravleniya], told IZVESTIYA that a serious incident had taken place during the previous 24 hours at the Soyuk-Bulak population center in Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan, which borders on Armenia. At 0200 hours in the night of 31 August a group of unidentified armed persons attacked the guard of the district chemical property depot. Three guards were killed and one wounded during the firefight. The attack was beaten back, and seizure of weapons and military property was thwarted. An investigation is under way.

In Armenia formations of ANA [Armenian National Army] fighters, surrendering their weapons, have handed in one hail gun with 170 rounds of ammunition, one mortar, 700 kg of explosives, three machineguns, some 40 home-made grenades, and 53 molotov cocktails.

"It has been established," Yuriy Matveyevich said further, "that some 50 ANA fighters fled with their arms from the headquarters of this organization in Yerevan in defiance of the ultimatum set by the Armenian authorities, failing to heed the calls for the Armenian National Army to disarm and disband made on republican television 30 August by its leader R. Vasilyan.

No serious incidents have been recorded in Armenia during the past 24 hours.

NKAO Issue 'Still Festers'

LD3108180690 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 31 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The Armenian parliament's decision to impose a state of emergency as of August 29 across the republic and to disband the Armenian National Army [ANA] evokes hopes not only for the stabilization of the situation within the republic, but for an end to armed attacks by ANA militants against neighboring Azerbaijan.

According to recent reports from Yerevan, ANA leaders Razmik Vasilyan and Vardan Vardanyan announced the organization's disbandment and called on all its members to obey parliament.

The move was preceded by a fierce gun battle between ANA militants and armed units of the Armenian National Movement, which claimed two lives, including Parliamentary Deputy Viktor Avazan.

Some detachments have already responded to the ANA leaders' call—they handed in their weapons to the authorities and went home.

Urgent measures taken by the Armenian parliament have led to the restoration of relative calm on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is too early to speak about full and even partial stabilization in the region, above all because the initial source of the conflict ravaging the two republics—the Nagorno-Karabakh issue—still festers.

The normalization of the situation can hardly have been promoted by the declaration of independence adopted by the Armenian parliament on August 23, one of the provisions of which proclaimed "the inalienable right to reunification of the Republic of Armenia with the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region."

Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov pointed out in a recent interview with the AZERINFORM News Agency that Nagorno-Karabakh was an integral part of Azerbaijan and we have no intention of holding any negotiations with Armenia relating to it.

"Our relations with the neighboring republic will be built depending on whether the status quo will be restored as it was in relations between the autonomous region and Baku before the February 1988 events."

The president admitted the possibility of forming the republic's own armed forces, with assistance from the centre, if a national army is set up in Armenia. This may become a fait accompli very soon, taking into account the legalization of some Armenian armed detachments by the Armenian parliament.

25 Aug Decision on Abkhaz Statehood Annulled

LD3108194990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] A meeting was held today of Abkhaziya Supreme Soviet deputies. The meeting was unanimously declared to be an extraordinary session of the autonomous republics' supreme body of state power. The meeting participants annulled the 25 August decision of the Soviet Socialist Republic's Supreme Soviet on legal guarantees for the defense of Abkhaziya's statehood and termed it unconstitutional, illegal, and juridically invalid. The participants also repudiated the declaration, announced at the same session, on the state sovereignty of Abkhaziya as being contrary to the basic interests of the majority of the autonomous republic's population.

The session approved the decision of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium—and deemed the decision to be in the interests of a majority of Abkhaziya's population—whereby the decisions of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of 25 August were also declared invalid.

A proposal put forward by a meeting of deputies of all levels, which took place before the session, was approved on establishing a committee of national concord made up of representatives of all regions of Abkhaziya.

Central Asia

Solar-Power Radio Link Opens in Kazakhstan

LD3008102490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Summary] A solar-powered rural radio relay link of 130 kilometers has started carrying programs to remote villages in Dzhezkazgan Oblast in Kazakhstan.

Kirghiz Party Congress Resumes Work 30 Aug

Party Membership Outlined

LD3008144690 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 30 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Frunze August 30 TASS—The second stage of the 19th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress was held here today. The congress, which began its work on June 14, suspended its proceedings because of the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress.

Delegates, representing 150,000 Kirghiz Communists, focused on two issues: the Kirghiz Communist programme of action in the present situation and its status.

Party chief A.M. Masaliyev delivered a report at the forum.

Delegates adopted the programme of action and the status of the republican Communist Party. From now on, it is an independent political organisation, uniting on a voluntary basis citizens of Kirghizia and the USSR to implement goals based on human values and the Communist ideal.

In handling issues of state construction, socioeconomic and cultural development, the republic combines the interests of the CPSU and the interests of the Kirghiz Communist Party and the Kirghiz Republic.

The state of emergency has been in force in Frunze since June 7. Its imposition was provoked by ethnic clashes in the Osh region of the Republic. After the situation was stabilised, the curfew was reduced to five hours. The situation in Osh is now calm.

The Kirghiz Communist Party is now going through hard times. Its state is reflected in a sociological study conducted by the Frunze party organisation.

Slightly more than 35,000 people are Communist Party members in Frunze with a population of 600,000. They represents 65 ethnic groups. Their average age is 47.

A total of 750 people joined the Communist Party as alternative members in 1989, which is a somewhat larger number than in 1989. But the flow of workers into the party continues to dwindle. In 1989, workers made up 50.4 per cent of the republic's Communists, 8.5 per cent down on the 1988 figure.

A total of 638 people were expelled from the party in 1989, which is twice as many as in 1988. More and more Communists are voluntarily handing in their party cards. All in all, 322 people turned in their membership cards. About 60 per cent of them were workers, 34.5 per cent pensioners and the rest intellectuals.

'Action Program' Adopted

LD3008212590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The second stage of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirghizia took place in Frunze today.

[Correspondent K. Sultanbekov] In connection with the fact that the first stage of the congress of the republican party organization took place before the 28th CPSU Congress, it was decided to rework the draft status and draft action program, taking account of the results of the CPSU congress. And today the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirghizia continued its work, and these two questions were the basis of its work.

A report was delivered by Masaliyev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia. In attributing fundamental importance to the processes of renewal and perestroyka and of heading the practical work to eliminate the deformations that had been allowed to occur in all spheres of life, the Communist Party of Kirghizia expresses serious concern at the internal political situation which has arisen in the country and in the republic, and to the crisis phenomena in the economy, the congress program document says.

After a businesslike discussion with differing assessments, both the action program and the document on the status of the Communist Party were adopted by a majority of votes.

The delegates of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirghizia adopted a message to all the Communists of the republic. With this the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirghizia ended its work.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Discusses Language Status

LD0309171290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1137 GMT 3 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Nina Merezhnikova]

[Text] Dushanbe, 3 Sep (TASS)—A declaration by the republic's Supreme Soviet published in the press today is devoted to problems relating to the implementation of the law on the state language of Soviet Tajikistan. This document was adopted at its last session in response to appeals by work collectives and the public.

The language law was adopted by parliament at the beginning of this year. It gave Tajik the status of state language. Russian was defined as the language of communication between nationalities. In the view of many of the republic's inhabitants, this decision has led to the destabilization of the situation in Tajikistan and to a significant exodus of the nonnative population. In only six months, approximately 36,000 people have left the republic. Sociologists forecast that if the pace of migration does not slow down, this figure will rise to 80,000. Today, we can already feel the shortage of specialists at industrial enterprises, medical institutions, and in education.

Representatives of employees of aviation, design institutes, and other work collectives, who have appealed to the national parliament, believe that this negative process can only be halted by a decision on bilingualism and the adoption of an amendment to the language law.

The statement by the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic denies that the language law is discriminatory. "The declaration of Tajik as the state language does not encroach upon any other language," the document stresses.

However, the law is not always complied with in practice. There have been language-motivated conflicts in the sphere of daily and trade services, on transport, and in public places. As a result, the republic's Supreme Soviet has demanded that the law-enforcement bodies take decisive measures to prevent such incidents and call to account the guilty parties. The parliament has entrused the Tajik government with drawing up and implementing specific measures to reduce the exodus of the population from the republic.

Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Assesses Feb Unrest

KGB 'Shortfalls' Cited

LD2908193290 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Dushanbe August 29 TADZHIKTA-TASS—The closing day in the work of the Tajik parliament session today was steeped in emotion. Parliamentarians heard and discussed conclusions by the parliamentary commission set up after public unrest and rioting which claimed many lives in February.

The commission reported that the arrival of Armenian refugees for whom the republican government was said to have provided good housing was no more than a pretext for spontaneous youth protests. The real reasons behind the unrest were much deeper, rooted in the extremely hard social and economic conditions, unemployment—youth unemployment, ignored by the government for years, parochialism in selecting leaders, and violations of human rights.

The commission cited shortfalls in the work of the KGB, the Republican Interior Ministry and the Procurator's Office, which claimed to have been fully aware of the volatile situation in the republic but failed to report the situation to the republican leaders.

The commission concluded that the investigation into the rioting was very sluggish and many facts were disregarded. Only the "small fry" were arrested while those who masterminded the rioting were still at large.

The parliament instructed the leadership of the KGB, the Interior Ministry and the Republican Procurator to prepare detailed reports about the progress of investigation into the reasons behind the February upheaval in time for the next session.

Reports on Rioting Ordered

LD0209061990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0548 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

Text] Dushanbe, 1 Sep (TASS)—The problem of Armenian refugees to whom the government of Tajikistan allegedly allocated housing was only a pretext for the mass rioting provoked by Tajik youth in February, and which resulted in human casualties. This is the conclusion reached by a parliamentary commission at the session of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet which has ended here. The commission was formed by the parliament of the republic to give a political evaluation of the February events.

According to the conclusions of the commission, the profound causes of the unrest were the extremely difficult social and economic conditions of people's lives, unemployment, particularly among the rural youth, local favoritism in the selection of management cadres, and violation of human rights.

The commission made serious criticisms of bodies of the KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Procuracy of the republic, which had complete information about the explosive situation in the republic, but did not report it to the leadership of Tajikistan. The commission concluded that the investigation into the February events is now going extremely slowly, and many facts remain, by design or accident, outside the field of vision of the investigators.

The Tajikistan Supreme Soviet laid an obligation on the leadership of the KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Procuracy of the republic to prepare detailed reports on the course of the investigation into the February riots and to report its results to the third session of parliament.